

MODERN.
POLICY
Compleated,

OR, THE
Publick Actions and Councils both
Civill and Military of his Excellency
The Lord
Generall MONCK
under the generall Revolutions
since 1639, to 1660.

By *David Lloyd. Ortel coll*

ῥοιμωσιατος δυνασιας, Dion. l. 61. p. 696.
et Moschion : σοφία δυναστων, Arist. eth. 6. 7.
Met. 2. 2. Rhet. 1. 37. ——— *dolus an virtus* ———
virg:

Mens una sapiens plurimum vicit manus:
Eurip. et Liv. apud Charron. vid. Hor. 3. ode 4.
רִאיוֹתַי כִּנִּי וְלִיָּדָה וְרֵחַ מְרִעָה R. Jer. ex R. Sim. B.
Joch. Talm. vid Maim Mor Nev. p. 1. c. 24. f. 22.

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Ian. iv. mdc. lx.



The last half of this book
treats of ^{the} 4th reformation
of K. Ch. 2.



TO THE
Most Illustrious
JAMES
DUKE of YORK.

May it please your Highness,

Speculation is the *life* of a Scholar, and action is the *life* of a Prince.

It sufficeth the *one* to *meditate* upon the great things which former ages have *done*, while the *other* doth great things, which future ages may *meditate* upon: the one ^b rests when he hath ^c raised a scheme, a frame,

Arist. Pol. 6.
2. Aquin. eth
1. 2. Suarez et
Burid. ibid
Rev. D. Pri-
ep. ded. cos-
mogr.
(b) *Mentes*
Japientiores
sunt qui es-
cendo. Plat.
ἡ γνῶσις
ἐνυμία vid
Rev. d Reyn
Passions: ex
Arist. et ali-
is, &c.

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(c) Bacon de
Augment.
Scient. def.
c. rtes medii.
7. Digby
immortality
Soul 7.

(d) De Idea
in David.
Grot. Christ.
relig. 1. An-
not. ex An-
not. &c.

(e) He hath
made all
things in
his hand
measure Syr.
טוֹר אֵלֶיךָ

Tim Synes
beautiful in
his time,
Eccl. 3. 11

(f) vid D c.
kens. Delph.
Phæn. de
Pans. 7 d

Top Scalig.
exercit. 6.
c. 7. 8 Im.
Tertull. de
Palleo. 2

(g) Norunt
Giramantes
et Indj &c.
I have heard
Turks, Jews,
speak hono-
rably of you

and Idea within himselfe propor-
tionable in all things to the order,
and method of beings *without him* ;
while the other having *understood this*
all is urged by his eager virtues to
performe things as great as those he
understood ; and actions as great as
his thoughts.

There is no tongue, nor lan-
guage, but hath heard that you are
as eminent for your action as for
your birth ; That you are a Prince
in both, in both your selfe i. as well
known as your name.

I need not informe you (great
Sir) that all great actions in any
way are guided by a wisdom from
above, first pure then peaceable, ac-
cording to the principles and max-
imes of that way, together with the
conclusions rationally, deducible
from those principles to their pe-
culiar ends by a discreet applicati-
on of proper meanes ; for it was
your

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your selfe that mannaged the great
 affaires of *France* and *Spainew* with a
 wisdom as * distant from the sud-
 den *rashnesse* of the one, as from the
 solemne *slownesse* of the other; bare
 action the priviledge of lower be-
 ings, valour the glory of those more
 noble, or honour becoming your
 selfe sufficed you not, without a
 wisdom guiding all these above
 your selfe and yeares; Therefore
 when I entertained thoughts of
 drawing a rude draught of these
 great actions, and counsels that I
 look upon as the best patternes of
Modein Policy, I mean these of this
 honourable Person, who discovered
 most of a Politicians *virtues*, with-
 out any of its *vices*; that could be
wise as a Serpent, and yet *innocent*
 as a Dove; I immediately resolved
 to *dedicate* it to your selfe; *wisdom*
is justified of its children, the Dia-
 mond only can cut Diamond, the
 A 3 wise

(h) Arist eth
 6.7 δῆλον
 μὴ τῶν
 καὶ δεκάτα
 Mel. 2. 2.
 Nulla que ma-
 tura impedi-
 ts sunt con-
 filio expedi-
 untur: Liv.
 see Reyn:
 en Hol. 14.
 v. 9. Ser. 7.
 * Melio tu-
 lissimas ibij,
 tre Duke of
 Rhoad, In-
 terest of
 States and
 Kingdomes,

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wise onely understand the wise; when I presume to make your Highness the Patron of this Modern Policy, I intimate you ought to be the subject of another, which some soule might attempt with a Pen as Heroick as your sword; writing your life with as much Majesty as you lived it with.

(i) *Dignitas laude virum*
musæ vetas
morj: Horat.

k) ΕΙΧΩΝ

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

Or a Pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty CHARLES the second, with his two illustrious Brothers the Duke of Yorke and Gloucester. Sold by HM at the Princes Armes in the lower end of Chancery lane.

(i) *Amorem asseruit Plato*

πρωτος

ερωχεται

εστιν.
Cxl. Rhodig.
16. 15.

k) When envy suppressed the worth and malice blasted the innocence of our dread Sovereign with those calumnies (that were never licenced but in the age when Men spoke whatever they thought fit, there being no King in *Israel*;) I humbly desire your Mediation for a pardon to my inconsiderable selfe, who was then past all fear of loss I durst vindicate injured truth and Majesty advancing them above interest, prejudice, & malice, by a course I thought most conscientious as a Christian, and most generous as a Man; my highest

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highest designe was to *establisb* his sacred Majesty in the hearts of his people, which was all *poor* I could doe towards his establishment in his Throne.

Now envy, malice, and ignorance dares abuse that renowned Person, whom the King hath desired to honour, to whom we owe even your very selfe, I could not but doe his Majesty, the Nation, and Himselfe right in justifying his honourable actions, which I doe sufficiently when I *repeate* them; I must confesse I am sorry that former powers allowed me that leasure I had to vindicate the best Majesty; but now his Majesty *is come again to his own House in peace*; I am contented to be at leasure to doe justice to the best *Loyalty*.

|| *Vespasian* one like your selfe, the darling of *Mankind*, as he *dismissed* none sad from him; so he professed

|| Diou. Hal.
2. see Suet.
in Tit. Vesp.
Leighes
Caesars:
Mallet: M.
S S. Bib.
Bodl.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

παίχων ἀλλήλους θυράς σοφοῖς that his
Doores were alwayes open for
Schollars: But to his favourite
Appollonius desiring accesse for
Dion and *Euphrates*, he said σοὶ
ὃ καὶ τὰ στήθεα ἀνοίχθαι δοκεῖ τὰ ἑμέα
but to you my very breast is open,
a poor Schollar despaires not of a
gracious admission to your royall
prefence, while he is confident you
will give *his grace* the Duke of *An-*
marle admission to your very heart:
But alas! Its high time to leave your
Highnesse full of thoughts to ad-
vance the *honour* and good, and to
improve the virtue and valour of
your dread Sovereigne and gracious
Brothers Dominions; and to retire
with my best affections, devoutest
prayers, & my *honest* endeavours into
the croud ——— of your Admi-
rers, and Servants,

David Lloyd.



Modern Policy,

The Second Part. *The first part is mentioned in p. 64*

GOD (*as great soules observe*) hath equally suffered by the too much *The occasion.* worship the superstition of the World that was *drowned* flattered him with; and by the too little which the *Atheisme* of that World which shall be *burned* slandered him with.

Good men (*saith Vossius*) are equally injured with the *honour* the fabulous age bestowed upon them by Legends, as with that the sullen & silent age denied them: while the one raised their worth to that heighth that it cannot be *beleived*; the other keeps it so low that it cannot be

A a *known;*

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known; The good Apostle is abused as much when the *Barbarians* cry he is a God as when they say he is a Malefactor: when he was *worshipped* at *Lystra*, as when he was *stoned* there; His Excellency the Lord Generall *Moncke* suffereth equally by the Courtiers smooth Panegyricks, as by the ignorants dull silence, or the envious his malignant calumny, while his renowned actions are made the issues of loose fancies roving at uncertain worth, rather than the issues of his great virtues; and after ages shall know rather how happy *Poets* they are, then how great or how good a Man he was.

§ 2 It will be therefore but a reasonable service equally due to his Excellency and to the World; to do his publick performances so much right as to expresse them with the same integrity they were accomplished with; and to expose them in their own naked *Grandeur* and *plain state* more *solemne* with the *solid* and *great* than *splendid* with the *gandy* & *vain*; the highest honour that can be done to great and solid worth is faithfully to repeat it, the greatest *elogy* that wit can grave upon it is it selfe.

§ 3 The

§ 3 The right honourable Sir George Monck Knight of the most noble order of ^{Birth and} the Garter, Lord Generall of all the ^{Education.} Forces in his Majesties dominions of England, Scotland, and Ireland; Master of the Horse; and one of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill; being borne a Gentleman of the posterity of ancient Nobility, and former Majesty, (as that happy Pen may easily evince, which may hereafter in an History due to this renowned Hero's life, consecrate to eternity Him and it selfe) and educated as honourably as he was borne; 1. under such a discipline that moulded his tender soule to that frame that was not onely advantageous towards the succeeding parts of his education, but towards the Regularity of his whole Life: 2. Under that erudition that successively instilled ingenious and good rudiments into his tender breast, in the order that was proper to his tender years, Age at once maturing his parts, enlarging his capacity, and advancing his lectures, untill some years education, had accomplished his mind with that stock of active, usefull, and manly knowledge, that furnished him with those

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vertues that are a perfection to noble natures, and a rest and tranquility to great minds, 1. *bridled* and checked the irregular fallies of the inferiour faculties, and the impetuous passions incident to those years, 2. fashioned his behaviour to that humanity, that gentleness that was due to Mankind, and that modesty and gravity, as was due to himselfe, 3. *regulated* his discourse to that temper that became the product of judgement and right reason, and raised him to thoughts of employment worthy and ingenuous, abhorring to busie himselfe vitiously, or impertinently.

§ 4 In a word; when education had made him a compleat Man, he bethought himselfe that he was *borne to Labour* as naturally as the sparkes are made to flye upwards, being endued with that αἰὲ κίνητον as *Jamblichus* calls it, that ever moving and restless principle his soul, and trusted with those abilities that suggested to him that he was not so far neglected by God or Nature, as to be placed in the World without employment.

Employ-
ment.

§ 5 He found that if he looked up to Heaven, that was alwayes in its course with

with its severall glories, rejoycing to run their race; if he ascended above humanity, and assumed the nature of Angells, imployment would pursue him thither, and overtake him; for they stand alwayes before God to know *and do his pleasure.*

If a *Man in honour* would quit his Birthright whereby he *is a little lower than an Angell*, and become with Nebuchadnezzar like the Beasts that perish; yet both the Field and Forrest are severe Monitors to imployment, each animal being continually engaged in an orderly exercise of those powers they are endued with.

Yea the dull Earth (besides its constant exercises in spring, after it's long vacation) hath been discovered by some of late to *spend it selfe and to be spent* in constant $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\theta\omicron\varsigma$ effluviis and emanations.

To descend to Hell, and lower he could not go, he saw the accursed Spirit imployed and busied, *Satan going to and fro in the Earth*, and industriously walking about seeking whom he may devour, making diligent use of the faculties, abilities, dexterities, which either *his nature* or *experience* have furnished him withall, towards the end he proposeth to himselfe.

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And therefore wondered what they meant that gloried in the ignominious honour and abasing exaltation of being above imployment, which becoms Heaven, Angells, and Men made perfect, and of being priviledged for that idleness which is below Earth and Hell, as if it were praise-worthy to be unprofitable-burdens of the Earth, to be born onely to consume the fruit of it, *to eat and drink to day, and to morrow to die;* as if they were brought to the Earth, as the *Leviathan* to the Sea, *to take their past-time therein.*

A Souldier.

§ 6 He was ready to embrace any ingenuous imployment opportunity offred him and his parts deserved, not (though as a younger Brother) as a prize either to ambition or covetousnesse, but as an opportunity to exercise his vertues, a sphere wherein he might move vigorously for the service and honour of his Country, and (as mens parts, abilities, and capacities, are their best directions in the free choice of their calling wherein they intend to abide with God) finding himselfe master of those manly and severe endowments, that qualifie great natures for

for the rougher engagements of Camp and Warre, and are above the smooother dalliances of Court and Peace, he lifted himselfe among the noble train of Cavi- leers, and of their number that were de- signed for actions worthy and great.

§ 7 Although his Excellency had not any right of his own lost which he was to recover by War (which is defined to be the state of two parties contending by publick force about right and wrong) and if he had, yet being a private person (since the constitution of publique Courts of jus- tice) he ought to submit his right to the fair triall of judgement, " rather then to " put it to the ordeall of force and tunault, " for hence it is that the reverence of the " Law was found out, that nothing " might be done by force, see *Paul. L. non est de rep. 1. Cassian. l. 4. van. 1. Ep. 4. Theod. edict. 10. 124. et L. exstat. D. quod metus. Serven. 11. Æn Virg. though Am- brose de offic. 3. 3. Ambros 1. lib. arb. 5. ep. 155. 10. 59. Eustied. Amic. de Gratian. c. vel caus. 13. q. have been taught to speak by some as otherwise minded) see *Canon, Epist. 55. edit. novis.**

Yet when lawfull power and publique persons

persons for the maintenance or recovery of their rights that are invaded or threatened by some mens ambition or coveteousnesse, *Those lusts whence come Warres and Fightings among us*, have set up a Warre (War being of such concernment and consequence to Commonwealths, that its treason and that justly by most Laws to undertake a War without highest authority; *Plato. de leg. l. ult. cic. de leg. l. 2. L. 3. D. ad l. Jul. maj. et Cornel leg. Justin. cod. valent. Aug. cont faust. l. 22. c. 74. p. 206. lin. 10. liv. Dec. ult. vel. l. 29. viñ. de bello numero 9.*) I say when lawfull power hath raised a War: Its lawful for private persons to assist others, being not wholly for themselves; it's commendable to become champions to afflicted right, to put forth a noble hand to rescue oppressed innocence out of the jawes of tyranny, it's the best way a younger brother can raise himselfe by raising the afflicted, and nothing ought to be more serviceable to a man saith *Cic. 2. de off.* than another man; it behooves every one to take up Arms upon injury done to himselfe or others, *Arles Rhet ad Alex. c. 3.* and happy are those Common-wealths wherein

wherein every one thinks anothers injury to be his, *and minds not onely his own things but the things of others*, and no man thinks himselfe unconcerned in that which is humane, *Lactant. car. var l. 6.*

Its usuall to engage in War for fellow-Citizens, for Mercheants, saith *Cic. ad Quint. and ver. 2.* by the leave of the supream power; indeed he were not a man that had not so much of the sociable nature as to help a man, *Simler rep. Helvet. Senec. de. ira l. c. 7. p. 51.* he is not valiant that will not assist weaknesse, *Euripid. supplic.* nor he just, that will not do right to the injured.

*Præbent saxa perfugium feris, — auræq;
famulis,
Urbibq; pressis malo — tutamen urbes,
&c.*

See *Mores de kocz. præc. 77. 80. Ben. Muim. in pec N. c. 7.* And he is not Loyal that will not serve his Prince; and there being as great a necessity there should be Wars, as the Apostle saith, that there should be divisions among us, its not unworthy of great persons so disposed, to seek their fortunes in a War, and having given themselves to attain abilities suitable

to

to the variety of exercises to be met with in that way, its reason they should follow it, not as mercenary and hired to kill men, and thinking there is most right where there is most pay, *Plato in theat. Bellin. de re mil. 2. t. 2. p. 106. n. 4.* casting their life away for that which they have onely for their lives, *Plato Bacch. Diod. sic. l. 18.* though yet to be encouraged with rewards and stipends, for (saith St. Paul) who ever went a warfare at his own charge? *1 Cor. 9. 7. see S. August. de verb. Dom. Ægid. de ait. super disp. 31. n. 8.*

Irish war.

§ 8 His Excellency was ready for service when his late Majesty had a sad occasion to employ his ablest Subjects to suppress the Rebellion in *Ireland* occasioned by the Pope, 1 upon pretence of Religion, 2 a right to *Ireland*, and 3 the oppression of the Catholicks in that Kingdome; but really upon the old maxim, that he that would gaine *England*, (which his holinesse longs after) must first begin with *Ireland*, and upon a Prophecy found in the *Vatican* encouraging them at that time there-unto together with some sad divisions by Romish Emissaries to be raised in *England* about that time.

§ 9 His Excellency well knowing that War is lawfull: 1 By nature Man (as *Galen de usu partium* hath it,) being made for war and peace, see *Arist. de part. animal.* 4. 10. *Cassiod. de anim.* *Armaque in armatos sumere jura sinunt* *Ovid. dente lupus cornu taurus petit, &c.* Ho. For 2. by Scripture, which recordeth it approved by the Priest of the most high God, *Gen.* 14. 20. which provideth Lawes for it; and recordeth the Worthies that fought the Battails of God, and mentioneth Men after Gods own heart Men of War; and devout Men, Centurians, and forbids not Souldiers their employment, but forbids them violence and falshood, advising them to be content with their wages.

§ 10 And knowing likewise, that this of all wars was most lawfull, being for his Majesty against such subjects as begun without authority, It being a generall agreement of all Societies even the *Aborig.* to obey Superiours least otherwise a Commonwealth become a solitude, or a confused throng where every one commands; and none obeyes, *Valer. maxim.* l. 1. *Salust.* 2. to the Prince as *Tacitus* writes, doe all Men give the power, and to subjects the glory of obedience;

dience; It being death to resist by the Law, *Deut.* 17. 12. *Joh.* 1. 18. see *Philo.* in *Flacc.* l. 2. c. 3. and damnation by the Gospel; *he that resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, *Rom.* 13. 2. *Concil. chalced.* et *Trull. can.* 4. *Tolet.* 4. *Lueff. Can.* 5. II. and without cause.

§ 11 For 1. War is not to be undertaken as they pretend for Religion; the Papists might know that *Peter* was bid long agoe to put up his sword; It being (as *Gregory* a Prophet of their own once said) an unheard of way of preaching to beat Men into a beleife; It's the erroneous his punishment (saith *Plato*) to be taught rather then to be murdered: *M. Anton.* l. 9. *valent in Am. marcel.* l. 30.

None ought to be compelled to become religious saith the counsell of *Tolet.* c. de *Jud.* and *Tertull* :: 2.

2 War is not lawfull to fulfill prophecies; which are uncertain in themselves, and in the time of their accomplishment; and its not our duty to doe what is foretold, but what is commanded. viz. *Lunclau. Turc. Hist.* l. 18. *Procop. Persic.* 2.

3. The Pope hath no right over Ireland:
For

For 1. if Christs, (as *Pet. Dam.* saith) then his Vicars Kingdome is not of this world: 2. *Paul* would not, and therefore why doeth *Peter* meddle with them that are without: 3. A Bishop ought not to strike much more not to War for a Kingdome: 4. Our Kings enjoyed it as Lords, and then as Kings, time enough to prescribe three times over; being at first invited to it by the *Irish*: And then 5. if the *Papists* were oppressed, which they were not unlesse it were with indulgencies and favours, as that Champion in the olympick games was pressed to death with *Roses*; yet the *Pope* did ἀλλοτελο ἐπισκοπέει meddle foolishly in other Mens business; & subjects are not to redresse greivances by Wars, but by petitions, they are to beseech their Sovereigne, and not to force him.

§ 12 His Excellency might think it as reasonable and just as it was honourable to assist his Sovereign against the mighty who upon these forementioned unjust grounds, (which may better become the compleat *History of the Irish Rebellion*) assaulted his Majesties undoubted right to be bestowed by the *Pope* upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to endeavour under

der his Majesties authority to reduce the
Rebellious to obedience, and punish the
bloody murthers, it being a primitive
constitution, that he that sheds mans
blood, by man shall his blood be shed,
Constantine upon this account made War
against *Licinius*, and others made War
against the *Persians*, *Zonar. et menand. P.*
et Aq; 2. 2. 108.

§ 13 And therefore as well satisfied
Command. in the lawfullnesse of his undertaking (as
every Souldier ought to doe who carrieth
his life in his hand, and may expect (as
the *Theban* Souldiers (a pattern for all o-
thers) argued with *Julian*) to die daily,
and ought not to submit his precious life
to the lusts and will of others, which hath
too much to do to serve its own divers
lusts and pleasures, he heads a Regiment
by the Lord-Deputies's Commission,
(that great man who understood well
whom he employed, who as curiously
observed other mens worth as he care-
lessly neglected his own: and was choice
in his instruments, because he was so in
his designs and imployments, well
knowing his great actions must be
left to the management of great soules)
and

and this is the first of those publick undertakings wick are the subject of this discourse.

§ 14 Wherein the first thing he was eminent for, was *Discipline*, without which *Discipline.* Commanders lead thronged multitudes and not armies, and listd routs rather than *Regiments*; he was not less carefull of morall than of the military *Discipline*, well knowing that that Souldiery will hardly vanquish an enemy that is vanquished by its own debauchery, *Ireland* (they say) endures no poyson, his Excellency would endure no dangerous exorbitancy to envenom his Regiment, nor any perverse *Achan* that would trouble his Camp, and next the care of keeping his Souldiers Men, and restraining them (when going out of themselves) within the compasse of humanity, he added that of making them Souldiers, that they might not be to *Learn* when they were to perform their duty.

Turpe est in arte militarj dicere non putaram.

§ 15 Besides that by his preparation the enemy might suspect that their plot was discovered, and by his readinesse that it

it was prevented, when men did but *seeme* to suspect an unknowne plot they have often discovered it, and withall few Souldiers brought together in a military posture, as they can vanquish many out of order, so they can affright more; the often mustering of Souldiers among a dangerous people, is not the least part of their policy, who know what pannick feare armed multitudes strike into the dispersed vulgar.

Familiarity.

§ 16 His Excellencies solemn familiarity no *Mother* of contempt was observable, whereby he insinuated himselfe so far into his Souldiers affection that they could have wished their lives doubled that they might have one life to spend for his person as they had one for his cause.

His Language with *Cæsar* was not *Milites*, but *Commilitones*, not Souldiers, but Fellow-Souldiers; nor was this out of any designe so much as out of nature, and that note of *Livy* tooke no place here, *Credant haud gratuitam in tanta majestate Comitatem fore*, that so much Majesty never condescended without designe, nor was that of the *Comick* a good rule here; *Non temerarium est ubi dives*

dives blande appellat pauperem; altera manu fert Lapidem, panem ostentat altera Nemini credo, qui longe blandus est dives pauperis.

§ 17 And when the sad time came that called for his actuall service; the sad condition of Ireland, (now without a Deputy, (the last being beheaded; the sad Prologue that ushered in this Tragedy; the red morning of whose bloody death presaged this tempest; as he *prophecyed* rather than *spoke* upon the Scaffold:) and by reason of the jealousies at the same time stirred up between his late Majesty and his Parliament by Rome and Hell; (one not daring to trust the other to be charitable) without supply and assistance, grappling with the power of Rome from within, and from without from all the Kings that had given their power to the Beast:) kept his Excellency and other Worthies to the defensive, and confined their care more how to save themselves handsomely then how to subdue the enemy; which though their cause and valour prompted them to: (for *qui molestos arcet ex bona, Conscientia sumit fiduciam, bonaque ei spes adest, inde quod injuriam non inferat sed auferat, Alex. orat. ad. mil. Herod. 5.*) yet their

B b

prudence

prudence checked them from, with the prudent caution in the Gospell of considering, *whether they were able with ten thousand to hurt them that came against them with twenty thousand*, for doubtlesse such and much greater was the ods, *between these two adversaries.*

§ 18 Though his Excellency spent not that time he staid there without some offensive sallies upon the enemy; we must offend sometimes in our own defence, and give our enemies occasion to complaine that we will not patiently lye open to their full stroke; as that *Roman* brought an action against a Man, *because he received not his whole dart.*

§ 19 Yet he was most eminent then upon necessity, as he was since upon designe in a prudent reservation of himselfe; It being as great skill to ward off blowes, as to give them; he was as wise as that *Lewis* of *France* in preventing danger; who had foresights to prevent mischiefs when they were coming, but not a present prudence to engage them when come, though yet he was as ready in encountring dangers as that *Henry* of *England*, who could (as *Bacon* observes who drew his life with a pencill

as

as majestick as his Scepter) withready advice command present thoughts to encounter that danger with success which he could not with foresight prevent; he gave then, great signes of an admirable dexterity in mannaging disadvantages vvwhich he hath since given full prooffe of, vvhen he opposed himselfe against a *declining age*: engaging thousands with his single selfe.

§ 20 His stratagems were as considerable as any Mans in so narrow a command; for though force and terror be most proper to wars, yet we may lawfully use guile; *Sive dolo sive vj clamve Palamve Hom: Quicquid agendo Hostica delenda vis est Pind: dulus an virtus quis in hoste requiral virg.*

Your enemy you lawfully may spoyle,
Whether by open force or secret guile.
Bellandum est astu levior laus in duce dextra.

———Lesse praise I gaine,
By my strong hand I war with my
strong braine.

Silius l. 5. ex Polib. l. nono. xenoph. κρυπ: I. Thacid. l. 5. Martis comites iræ insidiaeque virg. Elbarba hudiatum saith Mahomet, Wars must have some deceit, ὁ δόλος ἔψεκτοι οἱ αἰσῆς, αἰσῆς ἔψεκτοι; Eust ad Il. x. versu

120. so honourable is it to be wise as Serpents, that Saint *Chrysostome* in his first Book *de Sacerdotio* pronounceth that Generall most praise-worthy that hath obtained his victory by stratagems.

§ 21 The other private particulars (that that History may enquire into, which is due from after age to his blessed memory) will not beare those grave observations which are designed in this discourse for those more publick; his performances in this lower spheare being swallowed up with those of his superiors as the glories of lesser lights are undone at the appearance of a greater: Wherefore,

§ 22 I passe to the cessation made by his Majesties order; and the alteration in his Excellencies affaires thereupon.

For the jealousies forementioned being heightned to a War between his late Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament by their industry who are so well read in *Machiavell*, as to have learned that the best way to enjoy a Kingdome is to divide it; One side affirming our Government by a fundamentall constitution, a *παμεβασίλεια* as *Aristotle*, a *παντελὴς μοναρχία* as *Sophocles* an *αὐτοκρατορὶς βασιλεία* η̅ ανυπεύθυνος

as *Plutarch*, and an ἐξουσία αὐτοτελής as *Strabo* saith, an absolute and full Kingdome, wherein his Majesty was ἡ οὐ πένθος πόλει by no meanes obnoxious to his Subjects; being Supream over all Causes and Persons, accountable to none but to the blessed God, as the *Hebrew* Barnachman hath it, who (saith *Job*) shall say to Kings yee are wicked, or to Princes yee are ungodly.

The other side asserting our constitution mixt, and our Supream power divided between the King, the Lords, and the Commons, as *Chalchondylos* formerly asserted of *England*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, vide *Plin. l. 6. c. 22.* and some new Politicians of late, who though they confesse, that in the beginning Kings had all power, as *Pomponius* and *Justine* out of him; yet afterwards (as *Tacitus* observes) the People established Lawes which the King was to obey, *Tacit. 3. Annal. Cic. de rep. 1. et Fenestell, 3. 2.*

And indeed we had the best constitution of a δαμονεστικήν ἀριστοκρατείαν μετρημένην as *Solon*, and an ἀριστοκρατείαν βουλευτικήν as *Lycarg.* is by some made to speak.

§ 23 But upon some discontents the

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severall powers clashed and mistrusted each other; and gave themselves over to such feares and jealousies as put each rashly upon thoughts of War which cannot be just unlesse it be necessary; and therefore not to be undertaken, upon every causlesse feare of uncertaine danger; But then there were some with *Attila*, that,

Cared not how the War begins,

If they could bring it to their ends.

This civil War was managed a while with variety of success, that neither side should either presume or despaire.

§ 24 It pleased God his Majesty suffered some disadvantage at last, successe being not commanded to attend the best cause here, nor miscarriage the worst, greatnesse and goodnesse, justice and victory being not yet married; there is so much security of the happinesse of another life; that Christs Kingdome was not, and our hapiness is not of this World; though many have been perplexed with that question, *Cur bonis male sit, why it fares so ill with the good*, yet a Bible well understood hath taught them, *that there is neither love nor hatred to be knowne by any thing under the Sun*; when we goe into the Sanctuary

we

we are taught that its unwarrantable to
appeale to heaven for the decision of this
or that controverſy by the ſucceſſe be-
ſtowed upon this party or that cauſe, ac-
cording to its righteousneſſe and due
merit.

Pluto in *Ariſtophanes* is commanded to
be as favourable to the wicked as the
good; becauſe if virtue were rich, ſhe
ſhould be courted more for her dowry
then for her beauty; ſo if Juſtice or Reli-
gion had the advantage of proſperity (we
ſhould be apt to follow it as the common
Souldiers, more for the prey then for the
cauſe; Chriſt would be followed againe
for loaves.

§ 25 His Majesties unhappy affaires in
England, made ſome alterations in his
Councels; together with no leſſe unſea-
ſonable then unlawfull interpoſition of
thoſe of *Scotland* in our affaires; for ſince
civill ſociety was inſtituted; its certaine
the Rulers of every one have attained a
ſpeciall right (in which others have no
ſhare) over their own Subject, ſo that in
them onely reſides the ſupream power
of Judgement, whence there is no appeal
ſaith *Thacydides*.

Nos

*Nos quotquot hujus Colimus urbis menia,
Sufficimus ipsi nostra judicia exequi: Heraclides:*

Spartam tibi quæ contigit orna — nobis fuerit Cura mysenæ: Proc. vandal 2. c. b. n. b. (although when Subjects suffer whats intollerable humane Society hath allowed, and prompted one Nation to assist another, so the *Romans* assisted the *Persians*; so the *English* succoured the oppressed *Dutch* and *French*.)

§ 26 These advantages prevailed with his Majesty to order the honourable Marquisse of *Ormond* to bring the Rebels to a cessation upon the most advantageous termes: and to spare so many of his best Regiments for *English* service; among whom his Excellencies is brought over as one every way accomplished for the exigence of those times affaires; Neither needed his Majesty make use of a *Quintili Varo redde legiones*; So compleat are his Companies, that he might reply to his Majesty with reverence to our Saviours words, and of those which you have given me, *I have hardly lost one.*

§ 27 No sooner was he and others landed on *English* ground, but they were entertained

entertained with a Surprize, by some Parliament Forces, before they had time to know which was their foe, which was their friend; For the Scene was altered and their noble hands were to be imbrued now in *Protestant*, and not in *Popish* blood; their swords were to be sheathed no longer in *Irish*, but in *English* bowels; It had been some comfort had it been strangers that they engaged with, but alas! it was with those of their own and their Fathers house; It was with their familiars, those with whom they had taken sweet counsell together, they of their own faith, one Baptisme, and one hope, were their aid called against aliens, it were easy to resolve, faith *Aristides Lucitica* 5. but a suddaine disaster prevented these debates, they being set upon by that Person whose undertakings were more suddaine then others thoughts, and sometimes then his own.

§ 28 The Parliament were too well informed of these Regiments to give them the *strengthening* advantage of *uniting* with the Kings main body, and better instructed in that maxime, *dum singuli pugnare vincuntur universi*, then to let them pass without attempts upon them singly.

§ 29 His

§ 29 His Excellency and others were taken Prisoners, and had now nothing left them but the glory of suffering for his Majesty, he is deprived of all those things that make a Souldier, and now what remains but those prayers & teares that may make a Martyr; And in this capacity of a Prisoner did he remaine in the Tower so long as to see his Majesty utterly defeated, imprisoned as himselfe, (the anointed of the Lord was taken in their Nets, under whose shadow we said we should live in peace) yea and murdered too; to see Monarchy laid aside, Parliaments forced, Lawes, Priviledges and Properties invaded by their own Patrons; and the veyle that the uncertaine Warre kept on the Rebells face, now by a certaine successe drawn off: At their first entrance to *England* the *Irish* Forces were puzzled; Against whom to direct their loyall Swords while each side was for the King, for Lawes, for Liberty, Property, and Religion; But now they were satisfied in what they meant, that fought for his Majesty against the King.

Now the whole World saw that they least intended what they most pretended;

αλλ

ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὴν νοῦν ἔχοντες Homer

they that sit at our helme looked one way but rowed another, when they should make his Majesty glorious, they summon all the wit and malice of their side to make him infamous; when they should bring him to his Throne they bring him to the Scaffold, the Liberty they with much blood and treasure obtained for the Parliament is it seemes an unparalled force; the Religion to be established are all the antiquated and condemned errours and heresies with the exploded Schismes that attended them, so many Religions that sober & unconcerned Spectators thought we had none, so easy is it in a throng of Religions to loose Religion.

§ 30 His Excellency saw how prosperity opened those Persons whom another condition kept close as mid day discloseth those shels whom night keepes shut, advancement discovers a Man; when Appius had his wish, *finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ*; he left wearing another mans Person: *maximè pars morem hunc homines habent, quid sibi volunt dum id impetrant boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent, ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.*

Before

Before the man	What he would have
Had got his end	He thus obtained
He was all Puritan	<i>And then resumed knave</i>

§ 31 And now he was in love with his imprisonment, seeing clearly by this time that good cause that consecrated his misery, advanced his Prison to a sanctuary, and his close retirement to a religious life, in the good company of his many honourable and reverend fellow-sufferers; his withering and tedious durance being deceived away by the happy alleviation of Society; wherein it was doubtfull whether he took or gave more content.

§ 32 There were no meane Persons then that buzzed in his Excellencies eare his Majesties neglect of him, in that upon the severall exchanges of Prisoners on both sides he was not thought off; It seemes there broke out through his concealement & obscure restraint that worth that was not by our grandees thought below their temptations.

But his Excellency was so well appointed with naked honesty, that he was prooffe against all suggestions to disloyalty.

He that looked upon his service to his Majesty as its own encouragement, and upon

upon his loyalty as his own reward, valued not a neglect, or contempt, his care was not so much what he was in others thoughts, as what he was in his own; *he is great that is just, good and great in his conscience.*

And moreover his Majesty was so beset with malignant Courtiers that he could hardly see any Person in his own worth, without a malicious tincture from those *mediums* they passed through; otherwise he knew the Sun beheld not a more gracious Master to condescend humbly to take notice of his subjects service, to acknowledge it gratefully, and to reward it liberally.

His Excellency was not ignorant how coldly the renowned *Montrosse* was entertained for those services that were then (without disparagement to any) unparalleled; and have not been since seconded by any but those of his own.

But now he and three Nations have reason to think it was not his Majesty but God that delayed his releasement; reserving him for better seasons, wherein it might please him to make use of his Excellency; when rebellion had
run

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run to the end of the line, and the *iniquities* of the *Amorites* became full: And it was time to check successfull villanies that blustered in the World, casting terror round about, and threatening Heaven and Earth; and to vindicate oppressed right and afflicted innocence.

Perissem (might he say) *nisi perissem*: I had been undone had I not been undone, for had he been released probably he might have partaked in some of the stragling undertakings of those times which proved as unhappy to his Majesties cause as to the undertakers; for these slight endeavours kept together their divided adversaries with the common danger, and hardened them with their miscarriage; for they now thought that success hallowed their villanies; *Honesti scelera successus facit, Sen:* Whereas if Men had stood still, the fury of the Rebels had been spent upon themselves, for as they say wine must be fed with flesh, otherwise it will devour its own strength, so usurpation must have an adversary up for a *fomes* to its power, otherwise (as we have since seen) its like to feed upon its selfe; wherefore *who knows not* that his Excellency

was

was reserved for such a time as this,

§ 33 And although he had been slighted by his Majesty, (which was not impossible, considering the *evill counsell* about his Majesty (that betrayed him to his friends and foes) *against whom he himself* had as great cause to raise a War as his *Parliament* :) yet that his enemies who durst not put him to death (it being against equity saith *Sen. ep. 1.* & *Alexander in Plutarch*, against the Law of War saith *Salust.* in his *Jugurt History*, and great cruelty saith *Diodorus Siculus l. 17.* against the custome of War saith *Cæsar l. 2. de belle Gallico: Taul. Anali. 12.* to murder Prisoners *quos mars reliquit prælio superstites Eurip.*) entrust him with liberty is the eternall Monument for his worth and faithfulnessse; this was a Man (as his late Majesty said of that honourable *Strafford*) that even *Principalities and Powers* that would not trust might feare.

§ 34 Upon the *Parliaments* unhappy successe, Men of dangerous designe and loose Principles, usurping Supream power: 1. From the Sword, when most that fought in this unhappy War protest they fought not for power but for Liberty.

berty: 2 From the people when though they are not Servants by nature, as *Arist.* would have it, yet neither are they all Masters, for who then would obey? or if they had the power, all the World knows that they would otherwise dispose of it then to these Persons) Proceed (as its usuall after civill Wars) against the Kings party as Traytors for their loyalty; whose carriage in the War could not be treason against their Government, which they acknowledge is the issue of the War: and now searching Prisons they chose out the chiefe for exemplary justice (as the fattest commonly falls a Sacrifice) and shed the blood of War in the time of peace; and *revenged themselves*, (1. Inhumanely saith *Sen.* 2. Unjustly as they were injured, saith *Tyrius*, yea beastly saith *Plut.* for saith he, Beasts bite him that bites, see *Grotius, de bello et pace part. 2. p. 80 :*) Upon his sacred Majesty (though they were checked with a *Touch not mine anoynted*: and though no Man 1 Sam. 26. 9. could lay hands upon the Lords anoynted and be guiltlesse;) and upon the flower of the Nobility and Gentry that had escaped their fury in the Field.

§ 35 His Excellency being a younger Brother had not estate enough to make his offences capitall; yet had too much worth to be at liberty, and to be an enemy; there appeared it seemes in his single Person what whole Nations might be afraid of.

Therefore *Cromwell* that had Souldier enough in him to understand a Souldier takes the advantage of his Excellencies solitude for a temptation, and assaults him with an *all this will we give you*; withall adding (as most commonly his speeches had a sting in the tayle) that there was no lesse could purchase his Liberty of the Parliament then his service.

§ 36 His Excellencies thoughts are now divided between two equall inconveniencies, uncertaine how to guide a discreet choice; to continue himselfe in Prison (now he might be enlarged upon the inauguration of these new powers) were suddenly to put himselfe beyond all hope of being serviceable to himselfe, his cause, his Countrey; to goe and serve his successfull adversaries, and to abet prosperous villany with the same hands he once withstood it were to betray his former actions, and condemne himselfe: not without some suspicion of time-serving,

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as if with that Marquesse of *Winchester* he had been made rather of the complying *willow*, then of the royall and *solid oake*; ready alwayes for the prevailing side.

§ 37 Upon a sober debate with himselfe (for War must be *once* well thought on, wherein they say a *Man* cannot erre *twice*) though morals by reason of the variety of unexpected circumstances are so uncertaine that its *περί τὴν διακρίσιν* *Arist.* 1. *eth.* *Cic.* 1. et 3. et *Rhodius* l. 2. c. 3. and *quod dubitas ne feceris* saith *Pliny* l. 1. ep. 19. *covar. de mal.* c. 7. p. 2. n. 9. what is not of faith is sin faith the holy Ghost *Rom.* 14. 23. if a Man doth any thing and doubts he is damned:) yet partly by the strength of his own great reason; partly by the advice of his Oracles whom he had ready to consult with in all emergencies; (Its most excellent to be able to direct ones selfe, saith *Minutius* out of *Hesiod*, next to follow the good directions of others, *vasq; disp.* 62. c. 3. n. 10. *viCTOR. de Judic. relat.* 1. n. 12. *Ὁμοίη τὴν ἐταιρίαν* *Curia* the company of wise men brings learning and wisdom unto Kings; The *Rom* in Emperours undertook no War without the advice of *Faciales*, nor the Christian without their Bishops saith *Grotius bell. et pac.* p. 1. 117.) he left it to posterity

posterity, *that betwixt two evils his Excellency could doe well.*

§ 38 For with the consent of his best friends; with the blessing of his reverend Confessour the L. B. of E. with the approbation of his own heart (*and if our hearts condemne us not we have confidence towards God*) He listd himselfe under the Par. for the Ks. service, professing (as I am credibly informed) to the B. of E. that as he expected Heavens blessing with his Lordships, he now served his enemies only for his friends advantage; And methinkes the reverend Father, with other his noble and reverend fellow-prisoners bespeak him as *David doth Hushai the Archite*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 32, 33, 16, 17, 18, 17, 14. 'If you continue with us, you will be a
'burden to us as we are to you, but if you
'return, and say unto these younger pow-
'ers, I will be your servant, as I have
'been a servant to the powers before you
'so will I also be yours; then may you
'defeat the councell of their *Achitophels*;
'Have you not with you also *Zadock* and
'*Abiathan* the Priests (two reverend Per-
'sons, whom had I time to goe and aske
'their leaves, I would mention to the
'World not without due prefaces of ho-
'nour,) & me thinks when some enemies

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‘ were ready to say is this your kindnesse
 ‘ to your friend? why would you not goe
 ‘ with your friend? he might reply as
 ‘ well as *Hushai* and no better, whom the
 ‘ Lord, and this people, and all the Men of
 ‘ *Israel* chose, his will I be, and with him
 ‘ will I abide.

*And we have seen how by the counsell of
 our Hushai, the Lord had appointed to defeat
 the good counsell of eminent Achitophels to
 the intent that the Lord might bring evill up-
 on these Absaloms; The incomparable
 Grotius out of L. sec. 1. de dolo malo, saith
 it was too crudely spoken by Cicero that
 our whole conversation ought to be alto-
 gether free from simulation or dissimulati-
 on; without which we cannot live among
 those that are wise in their own generati-
 on; so lawfull is it (as *Thom.* 2. 229. 40.
 or 3. 9. 7. artic. *silv: in verbo bell. p. 1. n. 9.*
 decides the question out of *St. Augustine*
 upon the fifth *Psalme*) to cast the vayle of
 dissimulation, not that *anum* but *in uia*,
 that compliance and dispensation as *Saint*
Chrysost. calls it over the face of truth,
 that God himselfe seemes sometimes to
 goe along with successfull wretches in
 the pursuit of their lower designs while
 he mannageth the eternall counsell of his
 own will, thus *Paul* harmlesly becomes all
 things*

things to all Men that he might gaine some; although ὁ, χριστιανός, as well as ὁ μεγαλοψυχός, ought to be παπασιαστικός, καὶ ἀλφειωτικός; a Man in whome there is no guile, and if it were possible to deale openly withall Men.

§ 39 But his Excellency besides was not to learne that usefull Men must not withdraw their service from their Countrey to spight Usurpers: we must goe on each in our place to keep up Law, peace, and order according to an Usurpers will; though not for his Authority, but for publick good, which is the onely Sovereignty we are under in the absence of the Lawfull Magistrate ordained of God; provided we contribute as little as we can for the establishing of the Usurpers; *Cyllas* Lavves were of povver saith *Quint. l. 2. c. 1.* so far as the state of the Citty was contained in them; that it could not stand (as *Florus* upon those Lawes) if they were dissolved, see *Saurez. de legib. l. 3. c. 10. n. 9.*

§ 40 And now not onely Ireland, but England called like the Macedonian, come and help us; for they that turned the World upside down were almost come hither also: *Campanella* Cotzen, and *Richleu* in their politicks having long since made Ireland a passage into England; so its not so much

an order of Parliament, as a law of nature dictated by common safety and publick good that seemes to command him over into *Ireland*; which must not be neglected for any private quarrell; *Themistocles* and his *Antagonist* left their private grudges at home; when they were employed abroad for publick service; if the intelligences were removed, their own (they say) and the Worlds interests would turn the Spheares.

§ 41 Its true the Rebels pretended a League with his Majesty, and therefore they should be rather succoured then opposed by his friends: But the wise knew that had his Majesties subjects helped these Rebels to a conquest over the Parliament, they had helped them to a conquest over themselves, for they were as impatient of a Protestant Monarchy, as of a Free state or rather more, for this was thought to be of their own designe and contrivance; and the other the object of their malice and antient hatred. His Majesty himselve though much perswaded by his Mother, could not be prevailed with to joyne with those in *Ireland*; for though *Thucydides* say the *Athenians* did well in a case of necessity to seek aide not onely of the *Grecians* but of the *Barbarians*; Yet methinks

thinks I heare *Fulco of Remes in Fred. l. 4. Hist. Rbemensis c. 6.* admonishing our *Charles* as he did another; who may not be afraid seeing you covet amity with the enemies of God; and to the overthrow of the Protestant name take unto you Popish armes, and enter into Leagues detestable; they are great offenders saith *Alexander in Arrianus*, who serve the Barbarians against the *Greekes*, contrary to the Lawes of *Græcia*; shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, 2 Chron. 19. 2. O King let not the arme of Israel goe with thee, for the Lord is not with Israel, nor with any of the Children of Ephraim, 2 Chron. 25. 7. Be yee not unequally yoked with misbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousnesse with unrighteousnesse, what communion hath light with darknesse, 2 Cor. 6. 1. 15.

§ 42 His Excellency resolves (upon the termes proposed by the Parliament) for the *Irish* service in the capacity of a Collonel of Foot; but first he must take the engagement; when usurpation hath ravished just power, it usually supports it selfe with the two Pillars of Armes and Oathes; a good Man feareth an oath, and therefore his Excellency, upon mature deliberation made a promise equall to an

oath: (for a noble soule of *πίστεως, βεβαιότητος* as the *Persians*, such *bonæ fidei* as *Augustus*, that *ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογίας ὥσπερ τὰς ἐν ὅρκοις διαφυλάττων* *Isoc. de evag. Gunther. Leg. &c.* Its word is as strong as its oath:) that he would be true and faithfull to the Common-wealth without a King or House of Lords; and he is not a Man that would not be faithfull to the interest, Common-wealth, and good of his own Nation as well without as with a King; which was the primary, favourable, proper and significant import of that ingagement to the best judgements of that time.

§ 43 He is no sooner made sure, but he is sent by that Man of dispatch, O. C. (into whom the old Emperour of Germany thought *Gustavus Adolphus* his hasty soul was got by a metempsychosis) with *Reynolds* and others to *Chester*, and thence waisted over by a favourable gale immediately to *Dublin*, and made his way resolutely through the thickest of his enemies to relieve the distressed City; where they staid not long but impatient both of restraint and delay; they sally out for more elbow-room with that successe that they had the pursuit of the enemy for many miles, untill they came upon my Lord
of

of Ormond's whole Army ready for an overthrow, such was their confusion and disorder.

The honourable Lord of Ormond unhappily thus associated, being betrayed to that security that he is playing at Tables, and his Army and cause lyes at stake.

After this Victory these lower Commanders are carried about with the rapid motions of O. C. that violent first mover, who upon his first arrivall *Jebu-like* drave furiously towards *Trogedab* vvith all his Forces; took the place by storm, and spared neither Man, Woman, nor Child, Indeed throughout he vvvas resolved to use the highest right and lavv of War; vvvhich after ages may dare to call an injury; strangers were not spared, for by the Law of War strangers upon an enemies ground is an enemy, *Philo. de judice ex veteri Oraculo. Malcho excerpt. legis*; nor sacred Persons, my Lord *Broghil* hanged a Bishop (notwithstanding the common clamour for their Father in God) with an *hec sunt vestimenta patris*; no native escaped the severall parts justly suffering for the guilt of the whole: Its lawfull to continue the punishment of a guilty Nation; for one generation after its fault, *Arist. Pol. 7. c. 13. Liban. orat. de sedir. Ant.* Yet its
the

the generall Law of War (if yet it have any law, and it be not true what that rash head blurted that martiall Law was as absurd as martiall peace) *Hostis sit ille et qui extra praesidia, &c.* Liv. 37. Baldus 1. de just. Bembus Hist. 7. mercy, sanctuary, &c. are say the Souldier, for the miserable rather then for the guilty, *venet. de Asylis Thu.* 1585. *Cambd. Eliz.* 1593. and we tooke all his Cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the Men, and the Women, and the little ones, and we left none to remaine, *Deut.* 2. 34. Pf. 137. ult. But with this flux of blood, they said they stopped a greater; *Sanguinis fluxus diffusa venula revocamus Tert.*

The very report of this siege reduced all Ireland: for immediately the two next Garrisons Trim and Dundalk are quitted; such a pannick fear seizing upon the Souldiers, that they were not able to endure a summons: this successe is seconded with the taking of Werford, Rosse, Kingsale, Corke, Youghal, Bandon-bridge, Barrow, and Duncannon, Enistroke, Carricke, Waterford; and now Cromwell no sooner seeth a City or an Army, but he conquers it; In the meane time his Excellencies particular honour was involved in that great renown of the Generall; whatever glory he acquired it was as the Civilians say for his Master.

§ 44 *Ireland* now acknowledging a conquest in ten months, (for they were there but from the middle of *August*, 1649. to the next *May*, 1650.) which ten Ages formerly durst not boast of; They return by order of Parliament to *England* to assist them in those dangers that threatned them on every side; especially from *Scotland* and that had ingaged it selfe by a late Treaty at *Breda* to assist his sacred Majesty. 1. In bringing the Murtherers of his late Father of blessed memory to condigne punishment. 2. In recovering his royall right.

§ 45 *Cromwell* being to goe for *Scotland*, (the House having now concluded that the War should be offensive; and my Lord *Fairfax* laying down his Commission) makes choice of his Excellency for one of his Commanders in that desperate expedition; which he willingly undergoeth when he heard the quarrel stated by *Lashley* upon the account of the *Old Cause*, and not upon the account of the King whom they disowned, as one sticking too close to his Fathers sins forsooth, his House & Friends: Judging souls thought that War was for his Majesty rather then against him, that *Cromwell* there was loyal; and that it was a great courtesy for our

our Sovereign to be conquered, least a sad successe had gained him a Kingdome with the losse of Religion, Law, and Liberty, however his Excellency thought it unreasonable to see his Native Countrey submit its Law and Religion to the sawcy imposition of a neighbour Nation that had been indeed often taught to take Lawes from us; but never to give us any.

§ 46 When his Excellency was in *Scotland*, jealous *Oliver* joynes with him *Lambert* and *Okey* to watch his thoughts, words and actions, and to check him from any designe of loyalty; which he discreetly observed, and therefore managed each action committed to his trust, as that against the *Highlanders*, *Dundee*, &c. with such resolution as made him beleaved cordiall to the cause, and able for service, and therefore advanced him to the command of Lievtenant Generall in *Scotland*; It was his honest ambition to be eminent in every thing he undertook, so he hoped at last to arrive at that power that might sway Kingdomes to a compliance with his Majesties interest, as successfully as he saw them now swayed against it.

§ 47 And therefore when his Majesty marched for *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, he refused to follow him, and chose rather

rather to compleat former victories in *Scotland* as Commander in chiefe, then to gaine new ones in *England* under *Oliver*: Therefore waiting anxiously betwen hope and feare upon his Majesties successe in *England*, he took care to reduce *Scotland* into a subjection to the Parliament untill an opportunity offered it self of restoring it to the King, who had utterly lost it had not he lost it.

§ 48 But no sooner were the *Scots* Wars finished, but *Holland* threatneth us.

1 Partly upon his Majesties account being engaged to his assistance: 1 By the Prince of *Orange*: 2 By Admirall *Vantrump* who

had not forgot the high honours bestow-
ed upon him in *England* in the year 1641.

3 By an overture made between his late Majesty of blessed memory, and their Embassadour the night before his death;

Partly upon their own account claiming a right in our Seas which we for times out of mind were taught to * deny them.

See *Fleta* and *Selden* notes upon it; see *Draytons Polyalbyon*, *Grotius de jure belli et pacis* of propriety; see *Saxon Lawes* in *Spelm* and *Selden*: *Just. and Theod. Codes*: the *Danish Lawes* in the exact Collect of *Beccius*: *Woitlocks observat. &c.*

* See Gratium in mare lib. Seld. mare Clous Scrinb. Mar. Com. Greg. Thol. jur. reg. Franc. prop. L. L. quz propria ulpian l. o. L. L. quz comuniz: vid servium in 12 Æn. virg. En. st. ch. in il. x. n. 220.

§ 49 His Excellency is called upon from

MODERN POLICY,

from *Scotland* to Sea in joynt commission with *Blake*, and *Deane*, he willingly submits knowing he was to engage for the right of his native *Countrey*, I meane the dominion of the narrow Sea, which belonged to *England* as a hedge (so the Sea is called in *Eurip.* and most Poets since out of him) belongs to the inclosure, and indeed is the best of its enjoyments.

§ 50 He being at some losse in Sea affaires discovers as much wisdom in making use of other Mens skill, as others did in acting by their owne; others direct he encourageth, and spirits the dull Sea-men to action; to passe by the meaner passages his most solemn performance was the last engagement with the *Dutch* for which the Parliam. honour him with a gold chaine, and oblige him by a command over the Army in *Scotland*; which he underwent willingly, so securing to himselfe and his Master one Kingdome while now an Usurper swallows up two.

§ 51 Being come to *Scotland* he takes care that the councell who were in joynt power with him, should be Men of solid Principles and good Interest, & if he must be troubled with some fanaticks, they were some soft, easy and quiet Men that stood for cyphers, and were only to fill up

a number, and not to maintain a party.

§ 52 He takes care to restrain that *Scottish* spirit that is never quiet Conquerour nor conquered; and remembring what sad use they had made of former indulgencies, proceeds with force and rigour, resolving that they should *really* fear him, who he knew would never *really* love him.

§ 53 He disarmed, imprisoned, and innocently trappanned them, (though none of them suffered the least upon his account in state or life) and so amused the cunning *Scot*, with active policy, that he had scarce time to think of plots, or to contrive villany.

§ 54 And when some Loyall persons under the honourable *Middleton*, attempted something 1654. he easily subdued them, first *dividing* and then *conquering* them; he was as ready to suppress those men that attempted any thing *Inconsiderately* for his Majesty, as he hath been since to encouragethem when they attempted any thing soberly: It was about that time *Oliver* would have had him out of *Scotland*, and therefore had not he opposed his Majesty then, probably he had not been in a capacity to restore him now.

MODERN POLICY;

§ 55. In *Scotland* he impartially executed all Lawes enacted by the Supream power in *England* tending to the peace & welfare of that Nation: so that his severities had not formerly enraged them more than his justice obligeth them, and therefore *Oliver* omitted no opportunity to tempt him out of *Scotland*, by calling him to the other house, &c. which temptations he dextrously put off (choosing (with *Cæsar*) rather to be first in *Scotland* than 3d. or 4th. in *England*) so that the Usurper was heard often to say "that he could do many things were *G. M.* out of *Scotland*: And if I am not deceived by knowing and good men, the Usurper upon his deathbed (when he was urged to name his successour) professed, *It was in vain to set up a Protector in England for George Monck would bring a King out of Scotland.*

MODERN



MODERN POLICY.

The Second Part.

Although upon *Cromwell's* death, *Self.*
 it was thought, the awe (where- *His Ex-*
 by he checked the private de- cellencies
 signes of each party to an ho- behaviour
 mage to his own) was so happily remo- upon
 ved; that the severall *Grandees* would *Cromwell's*
 now publickly pursue their aime at that death.
 Supremacy, to which each of them was wil-
 ling to advance *Cromwell* first (one daring
 enough to break the ice to an usurpation)
 B that

a Magna
Latrocinia.

that they themselves might be his Seconds: and because (as *Seneca* saith) *seclera dissident*, their villainous Enterprises would interfe and clasp, each of them resolving to admit neither equall nor superiour; it was thought honest men might have opportunities to joyn together in vindication of lawfull Sovereignty and publick Right, while the Theeves and the (a) publick Robbers (as the Pirates told *Alexander*) fell out about oppression and wrong; *Take off the common Principles in which Rebels agree, and the common persons that keep them together with those Principles, their variety of humors and interests bring them immediately to a division, and then to a ruine, Machiavel. Kings l. 2. c. 3. on Livy l. 6. c. 2. sect. 3.* These Rods that have lain so long upon our backs might be singly broken, when they could not be broken united, and in a bundle.

But *Cromwell* taking as much care to keep usurped power as he took to gain it: — *Nec minor est virtus quarere, quam peratueri*: and being a man of *εὐρύς ἐμπορίας*, as *Arist. de An. l. 2. c. 1. Eth. 4. c. 3.* of desires as vast as his thoughts, and

and as boundless as his soul: *ἄδωτος περιμέτρος* as *Lamblichus Carm. 6.* And therefore its pitty (as *Socrates* saith) that great and good have been separated) he secured not the Government with more policy to himself then he doth to his Heires after him for ever ! for (naming his Son *Richard* Successor, according to a power cunningly gained by him from the Parliament in a Petition and Advice 1656.) he contrived him an impregnable interest ; first in *Ireland*, by his Brother *Henry* made there Lord Deputy : secondly in *Scotland*, by a Councill and an Army, made up, for the most part, either of Relations, or of Fanatiques, or of New-purchasers of the Kings, Queens, and Bishops Lands, all equally engaged to the Usurper : thirdly in *England*, 1. by a Councill made up of his Fathers own Creatures : 2. An Army under his Brother in Law *Fleetwood* Commander in chief ; his Uncle *Desborough* as Major Generall, and severall other Relations of his in great command ; so that his Army was like that of *Abrams*, of his own house : 3. The City awed by a pack of Sedataries, under one *Jo. Ireton* a Creature of his, since the marriage of his

Brother *Henry* with *Oliver's* Daughter.

4. The Countrey people generally so much pleased with the obliging carriage, to which *Oliver* politickly brought him up, that they generally said, *If we must needs have an Usurper, we will be content to have him.*

Sect.

His Excellency saw *Richard* so well settled, that to attempt any thing against so well layed a Government, in the behalf of his most Sacred Majesty, had been but to hazard the best Cause, with his own and his Friends persons and fortunes, against a tide, which swelling higher by the opposition, would quickly have overwhelmed them: And therefore he submitted himself to a compliance with the Power then in being; acting by its authority; knowing (as *Grotius* saith, *jure belli & pacis* p. 1. c. 73.) *That the acts of empire which an Usurper exerciseth may have power to oblige, not out of his right, which is none, but because its better his Commands should prevail and be of force, then utter confusion be brought in; the Laws and Judgements being taken away; See Suarez leg. l. 3. c. 10. n. 7. vid. de potest. civ. n. 23.* And so his Excellency
went

went on with the Usurper, strengthening the hands of the evill doer for publike good, while he was weakening him in private interest: We may observe in Nature, that the severall parts of it, though they are ordinarily true and faithfull to their standing rule, law, and duty, (the light going upwards and the heavy downwards, &c.) yet they are allowed to comply with a violence, that brings them out of their place & order, against their inclination and law, to fill up such chasmes, and supply such vacuities as may endanger the dissolution of the whole.

Besides, I think really his Excellency, together with our Gracious Sovereign, had rather the Invader should be left in possession, then occasion given to such dangerous and bloody commotions, as they both trembled at the thoughts of, which yet must necessarily follow upon any violence against those men, who have strong Factions on their side at home, and as strong Confederacies abroad. It was their opinion, *χέρων εἶναι μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἑμμέλειον*, *Plutarch*: Or as *Favonius* hath it, *Civill War is worse then unlawfull Government.* *Mihi pax omni cum civibus bello civilis*

utilior videtur, Cic. *Titus Quintus* thought it better the Tyrant *Nubis* had been let alone at *Lacedemon*, when he could not otherwise be thrown down, but with the ruine of the Common-wealth, likely to perish in vindication of her Liberty: For (as *Aristophanes* hath it) *A Lion is not to be bred in a City; but if he be brought up he must be kept*: For indeed we *nec morbum ferre possumus nec remedium*, Liv. Yea, we were so unfortunately sick, that we feared, *plus periculi a medico quam a morbo*: For though Usurpation falls heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an intestine War are worse spreading and permanent.

Sett. His Excellency was as carefull to keep others within an usefull moderation and prudence, as he was to act according to it himself; and therefore upon *Oliver's* death He and the Council make an Order:

That there be none brought from beyond the Seas to *Scotland*, and that none be carried from *Scotland* beyond

beyond the Seas, without
 speciall leave, and a Passe.
 That there be no unusuall
 meetings of Persons danger-
 ously affected to the Peace
 of that Nation, &c.

And seized upon severall persons danger-
 ously busie about his Majesties Affairs in
 that Kingdome; whereby he at once
 seemed to be very cordiall against his Ma-
 jesties interest, and for that of the Usur-
 pers; and really did his Majesty the best
 service imaginable, and his Friends the
 greatest courtesie: 1. Restraining them
 from those attempts which had been
 their ruine: *Aequum non est* (saith *Stral-
 lins*) *ut sapiens dissipentium casu in pe-
 ricula & turbas se conjiciat*. See *Nehem*.

9. 27.

2. And withdrawing from the Usurper that
 advantage which he made of such vain and
 empty oppositions, towards his own esta-
 blishment and settlement; who knows not
 that *Oliver* was advanced to that height

we ere while admired and feared, by those plots which he subtly contrived, and others were foolishly trappaned to; by whose discovery and defeat he rendered himself formidable, and by sly insinuations, of what danger the Government, and the three Nations were in, by reason of them, prevailed with his Conventions to secure the Common-wealth, by promoting his power daily, upon the occasion of one pretended Plot after another, untill he scrwed himself up to the power of the most absolute Monarch in *Europe*.

His Excellency thought that monstrous Power would fall away of it self, which might be held up and strengthened by opposition; A *Lacedemonian* in *Plutarch* when he read, *Hos dum Marte parant dominatum extinguere, saevus ante salientis Mania mors rapuit*; added, *Merito viri illi periere; expectare enim debuerunt, ut ipse per se dominatus confugeret*.

Self.
His acquiescing
in *Richards* free
Parliament,

In the meantime he resolved to acquiesce discreetly in the determination of the free and full Parliament, which *Richard* and his Councill were happily necessitated to call; towards the right constitution of which,

which, he contributed much in the choice of such Parliament men for *Scotland*, as the Malignant party in *England* would not have willingly admitted to the House; who when they entered, assisted the Honest party in such counsels as would have brought down the power which *Oliver* set up with so much blood and treasure, in the twinkling of an eye, without any noise or stir: wherefore they were suddenly after dissolved by the Army, with a consent that *Richard* gave to it: *ἔκαστος ἀνέκριντο τὸν θυμῷ.*

Although his Excellency was sorry to see such unwarrantable violence offered to a free Parliament, made up of the honourable Representatives of three Nations; yet he was pleased to see that vast Power taken from *Cromwel's* Family, by the same Authority that gave it them, even before a third Heir enjoyed it: He so well foresaw the future establishment of these Nations, through these severall revolutions (as the establishment of a fair World out of a Chaos) that he stuck not in an Address to the Parliament (whom the Army had invited to reassume their power, which they had once forced them from, and now looked upon as the onely Authority that could

could serve their turn and interest) to say, that *the Nation* was then *born in a day*.

Self. When those Members that the Army
 His carri- had called in, refused the admission of the
 age to- secluded Members, those worthy Patriots,
 wards the that were resolved to doe their King and
 long Par- their Countrey right; when they resolved
 liament to usurp the Government, denying the Na-
 when re- tion their priviledge of being governed by
 called, a free and full Parliament, and siding with
 a company of Sectaries and desperate per-
 sons, that were engaged to ruine our
 Church and State, neglected our honoura-
 ble Nobility, our worshipfull Gentry, our
 reverend Clergy, and in a word slighted
 three Kingdomes, and with their assistance
 awe us with Militia's, and oppress us with
 Assesments so farre, to the discontent of
 the whole Nation, that they agree upon a
 generall Insurrection upon the first of
August; but upon some discoveries made
 by the unhappines of the Honourable the
 Lady *Howard* (whose Sex was not capa-
 ble of that secrecy which her Loyalty
 might be intrusted with) and others, they
 were prevented in most places, save onely
 in

in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Wales*, where
 Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *George Booth*,
 Sir *Philip Egerton*, &c. by reason of their
 distance from the Parliament and Army,
 got together such a considerable party, that
 alarmed the whole Army under *Lambert*,
 and an Irish Brigade besides, to march to-
 wards them; whom his Excellency be-
 held favourably, and had they brought
 their design to any issue, he would have as-
 sisted to bring those refractory Members at
Westminster to some reasonable termes:
 Although he would not have engaged
 against those Members, (being obliged
 unto them, and thinking not with *Cicero*, T. *Fregis*
 that a man may break his oath with *fidem*.
 thieves; or with *Brutus* in *Appion*, That *A. quam*
 ἡ δὲν πρὸς ἐστὶν Πωμαίοις πρὸς τυραννίαν, ἡ δὲ ἔρο- *neque dedi,*
 νοι, That the Romans esteem no faith, yea *neque do*
 nor oath to be kept with Tyrants,) yet *Infideli*
 would he have used his interest with *cui periam.*
Accusis.
 them to reduce them to a Modera-
 tion.

But upon Sir *George Booth's* overthrow, *Señ.*
Lambert, blown up with the success, fores *His design*
 high, and contrives, that the Army now *upon Sir*
 highly catered by him, with the thousand *G. Booth's*
 pound *rising.*

pound sent by the Parliament to buy him a Jewell, &c. should sticke for his Honour to be Commander in chief of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, the next step to the Protectorship of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and that the Parliament, in case they denied it, should be dissolved; which he saw done accordingly.

Scit.
His resolution against the
Armies Arbitrary
power.

Whereupon *Lambert* calling together his Counsel of Officers, makes sure of a correspondence with the Army in *Ireland, and Scotland*, and therefore dispatcheth Collonel *Barrow* for *Ireland*, and Collonel *Cobbet* to General *Monck*; who though he was a Member of the Army, yet was he likewise a Servant to the Parliament; and of two Confederates he is to be preferred that hath a just cause of warr. The *Athenians* were to assist their fellows the *Messenians* against their other fellows the *Lacedemonians*, *Dem. Orat. de Megalop.* Merhinks I hear his Excellency replying to Collonel *Cobbet's* Message, as the *Aconans* did to the *Spartans*, *Amicus auxilia ferenda contra hostes non contra Amicos*; *vid. fidel. Tubal. l. 4. c. 31. l. 7. Ptolom. apud Appianum*

Appianum in leg. exceptis: Or with him in Alexandrides.

*Ego esse vester non queam Commilito,
Quando nec leges nec mores Consentiunt
Sed multis inter se Convallis discrepant.*

*Vid. Orat. Partaze ad Lazos apud Agath.
l. 3. c. 2. n. 6.*

The noble Generall, according to his instructions from *London*, secures *Cobbet*; at once preserving his Army from such dangerous insinuations as that person brought along with him thither; and to cut off all the advantages the Army in *England* might have of the information he might carry home with him. Sett.

Its true an Embassadour is *per secula populus sanctum nomen Papin. & Pompon. l. 1. si quis D. de legal. yea, Sancta sunt corpora legatorum var. l. 3. de l. Tutius regres- sus legato Radevic. append. de Polon. morian. l. 12. de mauris*; so that they were not to be violated in life, limb, estate, or liberty; for it is *contra jus legatorum, legatos in vinculis habere Menand. de Inst. 2. Imp.* He imprisons Cobbet the Armies Messenger.

But Collonell *Cobbet* is rather a Messenger

ger of a Faction of Subjects, then a proper Embassadour of the Supreme power, and therefore he must not claim the right of an Embassadour: It's the peculiar prerogative of Majesty, and Supreme Authority (saith *Dion. Hulicarn.*) to create Magistrates, to make Laws, to make Warre and Peace, and to send Embassadours.

Legates must not be received from *Antony*, for saith *Cicero*, *In that Case we have not to doe with Hanniball, an enemy of the Common-wealth, but with ene of our own Countrey.* Nobly, doth the Generall imprison him, who brought along with him the face of a Faction, and the authority of Rebels; who would have honoured him, *Si senatus faciem secum attulerat, auctoritatem reip.* Cic. Philip. 7.

Sect. And then his Excellency feeling the
Hemodels temper of his Army, upon Collonell *Cob-*
his Army. *bets* Message (according to the power gi-
 ven him, when he was made Commissioner for governing of the Army, with Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Collonell *Walton*, Collonell *Morley*, Collonell *Okey*, &c. by the Parliament, just before their dissolution)
 he

he models it, and secures such Officers (as he found, either too loosely principled, or already too dangerously engaged, to be entrusted in so honourable an Expedition as he resolved upon;) in *Tantillon* Castle first, and since in the *Basle* Islands, so confining their principles and persons within those walls, which otherwise might have too sad an influence upon that whole Army and Nation.

And then thinks fit to declare his resolution, to assert the authority of Parliaments against all violence whatsoever, in two Remonstrances, one to the whole Nation, and the other to the Churches.

Scit.
He declares.

Whereupon the English Officers bethink themselves of a Declaration too; 'where-
' in supposing the end of Government to
' be the publick good, they must perswade
' the world that they are the onely promoters of that in the world: *In melle sunt lingua fida vestra, atque orationes lacte; corda felle sunt fida, atque acerbo aceto e linguis dicta dulcia datis, ut corde amara facitis.*

Pre-

Modern Policy.

*Pretence white as milk,
 And as soft as silk,
 Will do the feat ;
 Your hearts as sowre as gall
 Purpose our thrall,
 And thus ye cheat.*

‘ They ravish us with apprehensions of liberty, while they enthrall us with oppression ; and as their usuall manner is, they bespatter the Parliament with their foulest ink, making (according to an ordinary figure in Policy) every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime : yea, they were almost ready to swallow that grosse abuse ; *ἡ δὲ ἀνδρῶν πονηρία ἐπὶ τὰ πείσματα μὲν ὁρᾷν*, *Isocrates*, of making the Office guilty of the Officers abuse.

And withall they declare the necessity of their proceedings ; they thus make a virtue of necessity, seeing no other virtue will be so easily induced to serve their proceedings ; and she may well be the patron of all licentiousness, who her self hath no law.

They declare the necessity of continuing the cashiered Officers in power, which is a necessity onely of their own creating, and

and signifies no more, but that they are compelled to cover wrong with wrong; as if it were not enough to have done mischief with an Army, but we must continue that Army to defend and justify it: Their *πρώτον ψῆδον* is, *That his Majesty must be kept out of his just rights, and that the Nation be deprived of their Laws, Liberties, Religion, &c.* And thence it follows, as a Conclusion becoming that Premise, that it's necessary our Army be commanded by Persons, that are the worst Rebels against the one, and the greatest Violators of the other: *ἐνδὲς αὐτῶν δόξιν, πολλα ἑαυκαῖον ἐστὶ συμβαίνειν.*

But his Excellencies rationall Declaration (which he published to give the world the same satisfaction, for his undertakings, that he had already in his own breast, scorning the *ἀνομία* of πολέμων ἀκήρυκτον ἐπάγων *Joseph. An. 15. Crantz. Saxon. 11. Nicet. l. 3. & 4.* and willing to provide honest things, even in the sight of men) out-weighed their Pamphlet with the Judicious; because they saw in his few words; (for he, with *Stenelaidos* the Ephor, would not stand debating with words,

C

being

being injured above words) that he asserted Authority, the ligament of humane society, against Violence and Rebellion ; he asserted the true publique, instead of a private good ; he stood for liberty against licentiousness and oppression : In a word, because they saw him expressing himself throughout like a Person of *worth and honour*.

Messengers sent to him.

After this *γλυκὺ ψῆφισμα* of the Armies Declaration, they send two more Messengers to his Excellency, his dear Brother in Law, Doctor *Clerges*, and another, to satisfy him more fully of their proceedings ; for his Excellency, as if he wanted nothing else all this while but good intelligence, writes them an ambiguous Letter, intimating, that he might comply with them better if he had but the happiness to understand them. Indeed it was but prudence, to suspend all expressions that might make them despair of his compliance with them, untill he were ready to appear against them.

Sec.

And these are followed by *Whaley* and *Goffe*, *Caryl* and *Barker*, as Messengers from the

the Churches, who had a Bird for every Conquerour: Its the boast of a *Dutchman*, that he can sail with all winds; the Compass breaths not more varieties then these dexterous souls have changes, and garbs, and suitable compliances. ' Its the ' perfection of an Oratour, to make happy ' applications to the severall humours and ' geniusses of all sorts of men: That's the character of these Church-men; these Independent Willows are pliant to the poor power of a contemptible Committee of Safety; as *Alcibiades* shifted disposition as he altered place, so they proportion themselves to time, place, person, religion, with such a plausibleness, as if they had been born only to serve that Opinion, which they harboured but as a guesse, while it continued in sway.

In the mean time his Excellency (be- He calls
ing by a call (as he expressed himself to an Ho-
the Convention) from God and man, norable
engaged for England, to restore the Parlia- conven-
ment to their due freedome and honour) tion of
assembles the Nobility and Gentry of Nobility
Scotland at *Edenburgh*; to whom he pro- and Gen-
posed. try an E-
denbo-
rough.

C 2

i. That

Scot.
His pro-
positions
to them,
with there
Answer
and his
Reply.

1. That they would secure the peace of that Nation during his absence, which would not be long.

2. That they would supply him with some men for this undertaking, which he engaged upon his Honour should be to their satisfaction.

3. That they would advance what money they could beforehand.

And hearing by the Earl of *Glencarne*, the Chair-man of that Assembly, that

1. The Scots were, since their being disarmed, incapable of keeping the peace.

2. That they were so unconcerned in the issue of his undertakings, that they saw no reason they should engage with him.

3. That they would advance a yeares tax before-hand.

1. He gives the Lords and Gentry power to arm themselves.

2. He satisfieth them privately in the design of his expedition.

3. And accepts of their yeares tax (O rare) before-hand; that being what he first intended, though what he last proposed.

And

And thereupon he dismisseth the Assembly, which he would not have called together but in a case of necessity, which makes any thing lawfull; it being one of the *Regalia* (as *G. Tholos* hath it) to call Assemblies.

And then he resolves to stay no longer then his supplies of men and money come in: In the mean time he encourageth Sir *Charles Coote*, the Lord *Brohill*, &c. to take this opportunity to reduce *Ireland*, with it's sectarian Governours (the first poisonous Creatures that ever came over thither) according to their design layed before any thoughts of the dissolution of this Long Parliament; but he advised them to proceed leisurely, and by piece-meal, for that, which at one view would be a morme to fright them, give it them but in part, and it would please them: *All great mutations* (saith the noble *Falkland*) *are dangerous, even where what is introduced by that mutation is such, as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation,*

Señ.

His prudent management of a

Yet hearing that *Lambert* was coming against him with thirteen thousand men, (resolved Treaty.

(resolved *pro regno patriam penates; conjugem flammis dare*) indeed *Imperia pretio quolibet constat bene*, according to the advice of an high-spirited Fury) he (with that King in the Parable) sits down and considers with himself, whether with his seven thousand men (which was all he could bring to the field from his Garrisons, the Highlands, and the new supplies) was able to enter battell with his enemy, that leadeth thirteen thousand; and finding himself too weak, before the enemy enters his Territories, he sends Messengers of peace, he thinking of the unexpected Accidents before he did engage, *Thucydides* adviseth, was loth to hazard the justice of his Cause upon the chances of a battell; we, may quit something of our own right to avoid pursuing it, with so much hurt to other men as Warre carrieth along with it; *Vict. de jure bel. n. 14. § 33. Arist. Polit. 4. Rhet. ad Alex. 3. Pausan. l. 5. Philost. l. 23. Sen. suas 5.* Yet withall he provides for Warre; being (as *Ioseph. 2. Cont. Appian*) To preserve the Laws; other losses he could bear patiently, but when he is forced to depart from the Laws, then he will fight even beyond his strength, and

and endure all extremitie of Warre.

He sends three totreat with those at Wallingford, viz. Collonell Wylkes, Lieutenant Collonell Clobery, and Major Knight, with letters to Gen. Fleetwood, 'intima-
'ring his readines to comply upon reaso-
'nable terms with his old friends and fel-
'low souldiers; and his sorrow for the ad-
'vantages which were given the common
'enemy, by this unseasonable distance of
'friends.

But withall he sends letters to the City, ^{Sec.}
'to encourage them to stand fast in their His Let-
'Liberty, for their Laws, Priviledges, Pro-^{ters to the}
'perties, and lawfull Government; for City.
which he there expressed himself ready to
live and die: which letters were deliver-
ed by Collonell Alured, and Collonell
Markham; but by reason of the conclu-
sion the fore-mentioned Treaters came
to, so contrary to the contents of those
letters, they were a while under Cassan-
draes fate, of not being believed, though
they brought in them the highest truths
imaginable, as time the father of truth hath
since made manifest.

Sect.

The Treaty is concluded in an agreement upon these termes :

1. That his Majesties Title be renounced.
2. That *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, be governed as a free State , without any single Person , or House of Peers.
3. That an able and a godly Ministry be encouraged, and the Universities regulated.
4. That the Army be not disbanded without its own consent.
5. That there be a meeting of three from *Scotland*, three from *Ireland*, and three from *England*, not Officers of the Army, and five from *Scotland*, and five from *Ireland*, and five from *England*, Officers of the Army, to consult about a further settlement.

Sect.

But his Excellency had discreetly reserved to himself the ratification of the Treaty, so that nothing should be of force untill he confirmed it with his own Seal ; and therefore upon the return of his Commissioners by his own order, he (imprisoning Collonell *Wylkes* for going beyond his Com-

Commission) declareth the Treaty void,
and marcheth towards the Borders, in-
tending to make *Berwick*, which he had
secured at first, his Head-quarters; hold-
ing correspondence with his friends all
over *England*, especiall in the West, as the
information Collonell *Cobbet* gave his
friends at *Wallingford* House intimated.

At *Berwick* he gave the Messengers of Sect.
the Army, and of the Churches, very plau-
sible answers, which yet signified nothing,
receiving and dismissing them with great
respect; but yeilding to them nothing
prejudiciall to his cause; so that one of
the Ministers, upon his return home, must
needs tell his Congregation, *That the seed
of the Serpent is irreconcilable with the
seed of the woman.*

Fabius saved *Rome* by a delay; his Ex- Sect.
cellency being advised from *England*, That Overtures
if he could keep at distance with his Ad- towards a
versary untill the first of *January*, the work second
would be done without bloud-shed; treaty
make some overtures of peace with *Lam-* with the
bert, but alwayes insisting upon the re-ad- grounds
mission of the Parliament to the exercise of it.

of their trust, to be granted before they enter upon any Treaty.

Sect. Now some Commissioners for the Parliament, viz. *Haslerig, Walton, and Morley*, having gained *Portsmouth* with the consent of Collonell *Wherham*, formerly of the Counsell of *Scotland*, whereof his Excellency was President; and *Lawson* (notwithstanding all endeavours by that Syren *Vane*, to perswade him to the contrary) declaring with the Navy for the Parliament; and the Land forces for want of pay revolting; the Army in the North mouldereth away, and yieldeth to time and delay.

Sect. Thus all force being removed from the Parliament, and they sitting, thought themselves not safe untill he by his authority and presence came to awe the Soldiery and the tumults, that want nothing but an Head to lead them to another Rebellion.

Sect. His Excellency (whom former Powers could not draw from *Scotland* with either fear or favour) takes this opportunity to of affairs throughout his progress to a subserviency to his design.

do

do his Countrey and King a publick right :
 And so (though ordered to bring with
 him onely three hundred men, and dispose
 the rest for quarters) he marcheth with
 his whole Army, modelling such Garrisons
 and Forces as he met with to a posture
 subservient to his design, intrusting them
 with men faithfull to his and the Nations
 Interest, *which were now no more two but one:*
 and commending the care of Scotland to
 Major Generall Morgan, a Person very in-
 dustrious in assisting his Excellency, going
 to him in his greatest extremity from Lon-
 don, to encourage him and his Army to a
 resolution in those designes, that were as
 great as they were good, he marcheth with
 his own Army, which he knew was tryed
 and faithfull : whereas the other Forces
 (*an aīre dato conducta cohors bellica, miles
 dona sequens pretioque suum mutare favo-
 rem suetus, & accepto pariter cum munere
 bello, hunc habuisse dator pretiū quem jusse-
 rit, hostem, Bell. de re mil. 2. p. t. 2. n. 4.*)
 would upon the least tempration (as he
 told the Parliament) betray both himself
 and them too.

And in his way finds the Honourable
 Lord

His conference with **Lord Fairfax**, with **Sir H. Cholmely**, &c. in Arms against free Quarter, and for a free Parliament, with whom he had private conference, to each parties satisfaction.

Yorkshire.
Sect

Here he receives a Message from the City by the Sword-bearer; to which he returns this Answer.

1. That he was resolved for the Parliament as it was on the 11. of *Octob.* last.

2. And yet when he came to the City (which he said would be shortly) he assures them he would satisfy their expectation.

Thus at once he keeps himself to his own Commission, owns the onely face of Authority then in being, under whose Authority he might act safely, & yet privately manageth things according to his own principles and thoughts: So inferiour Orbes suffer themselves to be swayed by the motion of the superiour, while yet they steal a motion of their own: The Parliament serve the Publick for themselves; His Excellency will serve them for the Publick; 'Being inviolably constant' to his Principles of Virtue and religious 'Prudence; his Ends are noble, and the
means

'meanes he useth innocent : His Worth
'had led him to the Helm of our State :
'The Rudder he useth is an honest and vi-
'gorous Wisdome : The Starre he looks
'on , for direction is in Heaven ; and the
'Port he aimes at , is the joynt welfare
'of Prince and People.

And then he proceeds towards *London*, ^{Sect.} He is ca-
being courted by the Countries as he ressed by
passed, as the Patron of Authority, Law, the whole
Liberty, and Property, (his Expedition ^{Countray}
looking like a Kings Progress rather then ^{but not}
a Souldiers March) and addressed ^{under-} stood.
the most considerable Gentry , to use his
interest in restoring them to their Birth-
rights, their Laws, their Priviledges, and
a full and a free Parliament ; whose de-
sires if he had satisfied, he had utterly dis-
appointed ; for to have discovered him-
self, had been to defeat the hope of the
whole Nation : *Veritatem voluit celari non*
mendacium dici, *Aug. 9 20. in Gen.* And
therefore he usually answered them, that
he would see 1. All force removed from
the Parliament. 2. The House filled.
3. See that there be good provision made
for future Parliaments : And so he kept
him-

himself dark to his Adversaries and his common Friends, though he was light to himself, his Prince, and his discreeter Friends, *Quibus pro sermone nutus motusque membrorum est; uti, Plin. de Æthiopum Gente l. 6. 30. ἀπατᾷ μὲν, ἀπατερόν δ' ἐκ ἐστὶ* Arist. Nu. 4. c. 8. *Incerta differuit, tracturus interpretationem, prout conduxisset, Tacit. Hist. 3.* He gave answers doubtfull and inclining whither they were drawn: *Manass. Ben. Iser. Concil. q. 39.* Notwithstanding there were two sent of purpose to watch him *Scot and Robinson*, who returned as wise as they came: His Excellency dropped never a syllable that Suspicion it self could be afraid of, all the while they were with him; every word he let fall was the well-weighed issue of Judgement and Reason, that did signifie, but not betray his mind: His expressions were Oracles, as well for their clear worth to his discerning Friends, as for their dark doubtfulness to his preying Enemies, So Christ himself spoke to his Enemies in Parables.

Scēt.
He con-
ceales his

About this time his Excellency saw how dangerous it had been for him to desertment of the Par. hard usage to those that made address to him

clare

clare for the Nations right, when it was high misdemeanour but humbly to wish for it ; when groans for grievances, as once at *Rome*, were dangerous, and complaints were treason ; when men are imprisoned for what Nature, Reason and Law hath declared to be the right of man, and our Parliament declared to be the right of English men ; I mean, *An humble Petition for Right*. He saw Sir *Coppleston Bampfild* for *Exeter*, and Sir *Robert Pye* for *Berk-shire*, without any respect at all to the Countries whence they came, the Message they carried, or the Honourable Person to whom they were imployed, confined to the Tower ; and yet he having, with that Earl of *Leicester*, his passions in his pocket, looks upon them with an unconcerned eye, and takes no care for the liberty of few imprisoned persons, least he should lose the opportunity of redeeming an enslaved Nation.

His Excellencies march to *England* was slow & orderly: So first taking time to observe the posture, genius, and inclination of the Kingdome. Secondly, and keeping his Souldiers close to himself, ready
Sect.
How he
controls
his Soul-
diers.
for

for any occasion, and in order; forbidding all private meeting of Officers for consultations about State Affairs; assuring them, that he and they were rather to obey Powers, then to controul them: and that every person should be so long in Command under him, as they were in obedience under Authority.

Sect.
A Letter
to Mr.
Roll in
his name.

In his March he takes occasion to answer a Declaration of the Western Gentlemen, that run too high at that time to be complied with, and yet was too just and equall to be neglected: Wherein he published expressions, that like a well-framed picture, look'd smilingly upon all sides; especially let the honest part of the Nation see a Grant of their whole wishes through a denyall: 'For (said he) the 'Nation could not be settled without a 'Civill Warre, unless the severall interests
'1. Of such new Sects (as *Presbyterians*,
'*Independents*, *Anabaptists*) never known
'here before the Warres. 2. Of such
'new Factions, as the purchasers of Kings,
'Queens, and Bishops Lands, were provided for by such a comprehensive settlement as might include all sides: (57 58

δεῖ δὲ τὸν νομοθέτην τὰς μίσους προσλαμβάνειν
 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, *Aristot. Eth. 6. Quod com-*
mune est, connectit civitates, quod singulorum
dissipat, quare & publice & privatim u-
tilius est ut publica magis quam privata
curentur. Plato 4. legum; a Law is to be
profitable (saith Cato L. τοῦ γὰρ D. de leg. l.
3. in fine D. D. petit hered) to the grea-
ter part and the main: Semper non quod
privatim interest, uni ex sociis servari de-
bet, sed quod communi societati expedit L.
actiones scēt. Labeo D. Soc. That is good
 for the Bee that is good for the Hive (*An-*
toninus) and therefore Monarchy in the
 State which a free Parliament would in-
 troduce being so inconsistent with the la-
 ter sort of mens interest, and Monarchy
 in the Church which is the necessary at-
 tendant of State Monarchy (for no Bishop
 no King) "they being so inconsistent
 "with the interest of the former sort of
 "men was not the best way of establi-
 "shing these Nations: Whereby he gave
 "us to understand rather what he thought
 "expedient, then what he thought lawful;
 "intimating withall to the discreet and
 "wise, that those things were his as well
 as the Nations designe, but it was not yet
 time to accomplish them. D As

As soon as time and prudence had conquered all remaining difficulties, he could be as much for a free Parliament, and the happy issues of it as themselves. In the meane time, though his Loyalty prompted him to serve his Majesty, and his Countrey; yet his Prudence taught him not to engage against Impossibilities: In a word, he lets not fall one word in that Letter, that seemed to deny that any of those things therein mentioned were lawfull, though hee dropped some that signified that all those things were not *Then expedient*.

Sect. When a long and tedious March, with
 His hono- the Prayers and Wishes of the whole Na-
 rable La- tion, had brought his Excellency to Saint
 dies arri- *Albanes*, his honourable Lady borne to
 vall at succour afflicted Loyalty and Majesty was
 London, arrived at *Whitehall*: Our *Venus* being
 brought by Water to meete her *Mars* by
 Land, how seasonably is shee arrived to
 give heat and life to his cooler thoughts,
 and to spirit his grave and slow designs
 into accomplishment! he sayd the King
 should *Come*, but she sayd *Now*: Her
 eager Passions, those Whet-stones of ver-
 tue

træ (Cic. Acad. 9. l. 4. Tusc. 9. l. 4.) Set him on to a performance, when his cautious Wisdome checked him to a Retreat, *A furis agitated amor*, A sacred fury of Love: *πᾶτος ὑποκρίτης*, Cal. Rhodig. l. 16 c. 15. Raising her wishes above all thoughts of difficulties, inggelled to her expedition: but he remembering that *ἡ συνάμενοι κρίνεν ἐν πάθει ὄντες* Arist. Poli. 3. c. 16. That Passions are not fit to conclude of Enterprize, Methinks answers her Importunate Loyalty: As *Latinia* doth *Turnus*,

— *Quantum ipsa feroci*
Virtute exaspero, tanto me impensius
aquum est
Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expen-
dere casus

The more undaunted Courage doth
 you move
 Its fit my serious feares shew the more
 Love
 In mature Counsells, and in weighing
 all
 The various dangers, and Event may
 fall.

The impatient Lady was so intensively fixed on restored Majesty, that shee seemed to decay with a lingring Expectation to enjoy it, *ὡς τῶτον τὸν χρόνον ἐγὼ (ὅν δαίμονι τὰ καὶ ὡς τὰ κοιθ' αὐτ' ἔρωτ' &c, Theocrit. Idyl. 2.)* she hardly rested night or day from some eminent service for her Sovereign, he took up her thoughts, her discourse, insomuch that her hopefull Son, when checked by some Gentlemen for an often mention of the King, replied pretily, *I am sure my Father and Mother talke of him every night*: When the honourable City drooped under a fear of the Issue of the late doubtfull expedition of his Excellency, she speaks them to a Life and Resolution with these words: *Did you (Gentlemen) understand Generall Monck as well as I do, you might trust him.*

He lodg-
eth at
White-
Hall.

When he had staid there some days to refresh his Army to consult with his Officers, and to look about him for the settlement of every thing in its place, in a subserviency to his designe, He marcheth to London, and refuseth not the accommodations offered him at *Whitehall*, as some thought he would; being too wary to open himselfe, when he had the opportunity

ty to hide himselfe by an acceptance of a
curtesie.

At *Westminster* (when he had indulged himselfe some time for the imbraces of his dearest Consort , that deserved his first and dearest Affections) he attends the House solemnly according to their Order, conducted by *Scot* and *Robinson* on each side of him, who was a virtue to each extreame, and modestly refused the Chaire that was offered him, now as above himselfe in Humility , as he was above others in worth : *They with most Regret and Tenderness receive Honours that most deserve them.*

Leaning on the back of the Chaire, provided for him , he delivered himselfe in a choice, pure, breife, clear, vigorous Expression of the great Notions in his mind to this purpose. 1. " That he deserved
" no Thanks, having done no more then
" his Duty : *He is lesse willing to hear Commendations, that hath done most worthy of them :* though he had attempted great things resolutely and valiantly, he heard Applauses and Elogies for them , by so

much the more tenderly, by how much they were more justly due.

2. He turned their Thanks, Applauses, and Commendations from himself the *Instrument* in their Restauration to God the *Author*: *Accipio, agnoscoque, Deos*, Virg. *Æn.* 12. — *εἰ τις θεῶν.*

Βλάπῃ, φύροτ' ἂν ὁ κακὸς ἢ κρείττονα.

— *If God will fight* Soph. Aj. Ezek. 3.
He can make the weak men put the strong to flight,

ἐκ Θεοῦ, διὰ Θεοῦ, εἰς Θεοῦ πάντα Anton.
By God, and therefore to God are all things, *Rom.* 11. *Ult.* But knowing that it is, *μίααμοιβὴν κυριωτάτη ταῦτα δεῖν ἅπασιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ.* *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1. 7. *Sen. Ep.* 95. *Chrysost. Hom.* 25. — Its not the mentioning so much as the improving of mercies, which expressieth our thankfulness to God, *Ovid. Æthyr. Apud Plut. de audit. Poet. A. Gel. l. 1. c. 15. Tertul. de Patria, c. 1.* Therefore he humbly desired the Parliament to satisfie the Expectation of the Nation, in the establishment of their Laws
Liberties,

Liberties, &c. Upon this their wonderfull Restauration; God had beene at the charges (as I may so speak) of so many wonders from above, nor his Excellency of so much care and paines below to restore them, not so much that they should seek *Their* own, as the publick good.

3. He desired them particularly to take off the Suspicion men had of their perpetuity, by determining their own Sessions, and providing for future Parliaments (A constitution *si vetustatem spectes vetustissima, si dignitatem honoratissima, si jurisdictionem Copiosissima*) Where the Nation by its severall Representatives might gravely, deliberately, and safely consult its own peace and settlement. The Major part as *Grotius* saith in his *Hyl. Gothi...*) prevailing over the minor " *Otherwise theres no hope of Peace: Where there are multitudes of Counsellors there is safety.*

4. Then he commended to them a moderation in their qualification, intimating, *That it would be their Prudence not to narrow but widen their Interest*: Withal, telling them, the noble Gentry were so ingenuous, That faire meanes would bring to that compliance, when hard usage would de-

terre them : English spirits must not be force d but won by an acquiescence, they are not to be subdued but with kindness.

5. He wisheth them to be tender in imposing Oathes (though yet he thought none were to be admitted to any trust in *England*, as none ever was without an Engagement to be faithfull to the Power in Being.) In all Governments Fundamentals are secured by standing Lawes, obliging all to a faithfullnesse and constancy to them, when the superstructures are capable of alterations by the growing Wisdome of succeeding Ages, and Powers) He was sensible of the abuse of Gods Name in our frequent Oathes : *En toutes manieres sa este un fort belle Ordinance & institution, de en user point du nom des dieux legerement de peur de les Contaminer, Car la Majeste des dieux ne se doit Imployer, qu' en un saint, & Venerable purete.* Its wisely ordained that the Names of the Gods should not be used upon trifling occasions : for the Majesty of the Gods should not be imployed but in holy and venerable purity. *Malvezzi on Philostratus. Casaub. Exercit. 202.* 2, Of the abuse of force whence, *ἡ δὲ τοῦ*

ἡ δὲ τοῦ

ἡργα ὅτι ἡργαὶ καὶ ὀρκέων. Scholl. in
Aristoph. Untill men have used them so
commonly, that they can shake off their
Cords with as much ease as *Sampson* did
his Withs, and breake over their Hedges
of Faithfullnesse when they please:
Though *Ut Masora sepes, legi decima di-*
vitiis, vota sanctimonie, silentium sapientia,
sacramenta fidelitatis, Pirke Aboth As the
Masora Hedges in the Law, Tythes Hedge
in Riches, so Oathes kepe in faithfullness,
so restraining and bounding our hearts that
are as unstable as Water, whose propriety
is to be τὸ ἀβεβρον εἰκένω ὅρκῳ *Arist.*
Gen. 5. Corrupt. l. 2. c. 2. to be apt to shed
abroad when left to it self: but alas! His
Excellency, since men make too much
use of that piece of *Lysander* τὰς μὲν
παῖδας ἀσραγόλοις δὲν ἐξαπαλᾶν, τὰς
καὶ ἀνδρας ὄρκοις, that Children are to
be cosened with Rattles and men with
oathes: with whom pactum non pactum est,
non pactum pactum est cum illis *Lubet, Paul.*
Aul. An oath shall no oath be, if they no ad-
vantage see: but an oath, an oath shall be
if it with their designs agree they were so
good at that of *Euripides, Iurata lingua*
est, mente juravi nihil, that his Excellency
thought

thought fit to put the Parliament in mind that they had more need to repent of their former oathes than to take new.

6. He warnes them to take heed of admitting Cavaleers and Phanatiques into places of any imployment or trust: doing the Cavaleers no injury, for they could not have worse thoughts of them than they had, but secretly weakning the Parliament, by rendring their friends the Phanatiques odious to them, and so useless and unserviceable: when he seemed to discharge Cavaleers from imployment, he meant those whose actions had been more serviceable to their enemies than their friends, whose rash and unadvised zeal had done more harm than their Loyalty was ever like to do good; for those sober persons that were in a mean between madness and Ænthusiasme, were such as we have seen manage their moderate Councils in two Moneths, with more success on his Majesties behalf than others have managed their valour in twenty years.

7. He commends to them *Scotland*, as a Nation that indeed had of late deserved to be encouraged, and assures them of *Ireland*, with the persons in whose hands that Nation was. He

8. He commends to them a Free State, for he would gladly lay down his life; but he knew well that *Nunquam libertas gratior extat quam sub rege pio*, That it is the highest freedome a State can hope for, to serve a good Prince.

And then he withdraws to his place in the Council of State where the first thing under consideration was the reducing of the City, now stiffly resolved to own no power save that of a Free and full Parliament, where he saw that that Parliament and Council of State were neer a period: by those strong attempts they made to keep themselves alive, (*Morientium morsus acerrimus*, the last endeavour of the dying is most vigorous) for they order,

1. That he should march into the City with so many Horse and Foot, to force them to an obedience to the Act of Assessment: *Its the guise of men in power to att themselves in the plausible part of their Government, leaving the more offensive passages to their instruments.* His Excellency coming up to the City, at *Guild-Hall* peremptorily demands the Assessment, by an order from the Parliament and the Council of State, to which demand proceeding

ding from him beyond expectation, the City after a little respite for extasy and amazement, return this answer, *In Magna Charta confirmed by the Petition of Right, and renewed by this present Parliament, a day before their forcible dissolution upon the 11. of Octob. they were to pay no Taxes, &c. but by their consent in Parliament, which now they had not*: Yet to give no offence to the Parliament, the Council of State, or his Excellency, desire time to consider of it: and indeed those debates upon which depended the welfare of the Nation, with its Liberties, priveledges, and properties called for time and leisure.

His Excellency in the mean time writes to the House to know their pleasure, to which they answer that

1. *He should imprison the Honourable Col. Bromfield, Alder. Bludworth, L. C. Jackson, Major Cox, &c.*

2. *That he should remove their Chaines, digge up their posts and break their Gates.*

Which strange orders were sent not only to try his Excellencys patience and obedience, but to make that enmity open which was but suspected between him and the City; so did *Achitophel* advise *Abso-*
lom

long to ravish his Fathers Concubines before all Israel, that Israel might be assured that he and his Father were enemies.

And his Excellency obeys them readily, thereby gaining an opportunity to discover the genius of the City, which he had not otherwise there known certainly to be so resolute for, and so true to Liberty and right.

But the Parliament as they intended, that by that imployment so offensive to the City, he should weaken his *Interest*; so they contrive that while he is busy in it he should be weakned in his power: His Commission for Generalship expiring, they renew it not according to his desert, but impower six more of themselves to be equal with him in command that never came neer him in merits, according to their interest, viz. *Hazlerig. Walton, Morley &c.* which when his Army heard as they were not satisfied with their late imployment, so much less were they satisfied with this reward; the lessening of their Generals power when they might justly expect his advancement, and therefore being assured of the City, by a conference at the three Tunns at *Guild-Hall*, his Excellencies

Señ.
They afterwards
degrade
him.



His Officers Remon-
strance thereupon.

lencies Head quarters, They humbly remonstrate, First, their sence of that violence they were commanded to offer the renowned City, a violence unparraleld in our worst of daies, which though they made havock of most part of the Nations, yet spared the ancient City, for its late performances too honourable, and for its antiquity too reverend to be so abused.

Secondly, their fear of several persons eminent in this late disturbance, who had their freedome within and without the City, to consult, plot, and design what might reduce us to our former misery.

Thirdly, their abhorrency of a late Petition delivered in the House by *Praise-God Barebone*, so subversive of all order and power, so dangerous to all Religion, worship, and discipline, so destructive to all Lawes, Statutes and Customes that to repeat it was to confute and condemne it, and all sober eyes have as soon abhorred it as seen it.

Fourthly, Their wish that the Parliament would quickly determine their session, and provide for succeeding Parliaments.

Señ.
He adheres to
the City

Which as soon as his Excellency had communicated to the Speaker by a Letter he
for a Free Parliament.

he marched to *London* for quarters declaring for a Free Parliament, and casting himself upon the love, and faithfulness of the City, and Countrey, that they might stand by him in the prosecution of publick good.

In which resolution he persisted, (notwithstanding, 1. The flatteries of the House, cajoling him with the Honour of *Hampden Court*, and his Brother the Honorable Sir *Th. Clergis*, with the *Hamper Office* which was worth a 1000 *l.* a year. 2. Their snares, into which (had it not been for his incomparable Lady, he might have been trappanned by a dinner, to which he was to be invited by the Council of State. 3. their threatnings expressed in *Haslerigs* Speeches, (that breathed nothing but fire and sword.) In the mean time taking his quarters among the Citizens, he expects patiently the issue of the Parliaments debates, in answer to his last Letters to them, and finding they thought of nothing but the settling of their own interest and continuing of their power; he desired the messengers they sent to treat with him, to delay time, to procure a conference between some Members of the House, and
some

He heard the controversy between the Secluded and the other Members. some honourable patriots that were excluded from it, which was granted and had before him for mutual information, in which he judiciously weighed each sides reasons and arguments being all the while silent himself, and concluding with himself upon the result of the whole, that the settlement intended by the house was upon foundations too narrow to bear up a public good: he resolved to withdraw all force from the house, and admit men of more sober, moderate, and therefore of a more publick spirit, who would establish us

He admits Secluded Members to the House. upon terms comprehensive of every considerable interest among us, making each part happy in the welfare of the whole; which he did upon the one and twentieth of February, *Cressane careat pulchra dies nota*. 5. Meeting the Secluded Members at White-hall, and expressing himself to them in a speech not delivered by himself

Sec. His speech to them at White-Hal. to avoid offence, but by his Secretary; wherein he commended to their care.

1. Religion that *πρώτη ἐν ἡμεῖς*, as *Aristol.* 7. that first care of Magistrates, it being in *Plato* and *Plutarch*, *Coagulum omnis societatis & fundamentum*, and *efficacissimum vinculum benevola amicitia unius dei cultus*

Cultis Philo : so great an awe hath Religion had alwaies upon the spirits of men, prevailed with by the thoughts of eternal weal and woe, that to settle it *Βασιλικὴν ἀντίον ἔργον εἶναι. Iust. Mart. Apol.* would be a royal work, which his Excellency proposed in the most sober and moderate way, imaginable between some mens too close and severe rigor, which his Excellency had discountenanced in *Scotland*, and others too loose indulgence which he checked by a publike dislike of a Sermon preached before him at *St. Pauls* for that abomination that makes desolate, I meane a toleration for every one to do what is good in his own eyes.

2. He commends to them the State; desiring them to provide for a Free and full Parliament, in whose resolves he himself and the whole Nation might acquiesce.

As soon as they sit, they vote his Excellency according to agreement, *Lord General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland*; which trust he managed with much discretion and faithfulness, modelling his Army to a temper suitable with the designes he had in hand, disarming the Phanatiques in City and Countrey, in the

Señ.

He is Voted General.

E mean

mean time taking care to arm Loyalty, while he layd the Factions naked.

Señ.
He rejects
all temp-
tations to
baseness.

Now to let the world see his Excellency had the best Souldiery, virtues, valour, and wildome; without any of their vices, ambition, &c. He slights all temptations of Command, Power, and Authority, which were offered him, and resolves rather to be a Loyal Subject, then an usurping Sovereign: he had rather have *obsequium* (as *Tacitus* calls it) the Glory of Obedience, then the Majesty of command.

Señ.

The Parliament having settled the City in its just power, by Mayor, Aldermen, and an honourable Common-Council, and an incomparable Militia, under as worthy Commanders as ever lead English men to the field: and vacated the Phanatique power in the Countrey, and settled the Militia of the three Countries in honourable and great hands, of men of worth, and interest, and provided for the future Parliament, they dissolve upon the 16. of *March*, leaving the care of the Nation to an incomparable Council of State, and the care of the Army to his Excellency, as Commander in chief, and Major General of the City, and the care of the Navy to his Excellency, and the

the Honourable Lord *Montagne*.

His Excellency in this interval condescends to the divertisements of several entertainments by most Companies in *London*. The Honourable society of the Merchants beginning; but in the midst of pastimes and pleasures, his great and solid mind (as invincible by these soft, as formerly by his harder services), forgets not the greater affairs of State.

Sc&.
His Excellency entertained in *London*.

And he keeps good correspondence with his Army by frequent conferences: at last he brought them to declare their acquiescence in the resolves of the approaching Parliament, to the confusion of such whose hope lay wholly in their reluctancy against lawful power.

Sc&.
His prudence in the interval of power.

When *Lamberts* escape had stirred up the drooping spirits of the factious to designs threatening and formidable; his Excellency first discreetly ordereth the Forces in the Countrey, so as to prevent their uniting in any considerable posture, and then Honourably offers his own person for the service of his King and Countrey: In the mean time taking care to settle the Militia of *London*, and *Westminster*, so as they

Sc&.

might be able to guard themselves if he should be called abroad to engage against the Enemy.

Scct. He takes care likewise of Intelligence, well knowing of what concernment it is for a Nation to have an impartial relation of the actions of the supreme power.

Scct. The Parliament being sare, whereof he was a Member both for *Devonshire* and *Cambridge*, he carrieth himself there with that modesty that might become the meekest Member, hardly so confident as to own the honour that honorable House conferred upon him by their solemne thanks to him.

Scct. And would hardly accept the 20000. l. bestowed upon him, until the Kingdomes account and stated, his Majesties occasion supplied, his publike debts payed: so little did this publike minded *Worthy* care for his own things, and so much for the things of others.

Scct. When his Majesties gracious Declaration and Letters came over, to give occasion to modest Loyalty to discover himself, his Excellency having received the Declaration with a Letter to himself, (by the leave of
of

of the House which he humbly asked) he sends his Brother the Honourable Sir *Theo. Clergies* to attend his Majesty, with his humble answer, wherein was inclosed a loyal address from the Army, to let the world see how well a Generals command became him, who had modelled his Army to that temper, that there seemed to be but one soul controuling that whole great body, that expressed its allegiance to his Majesty unanimously as one man.

When the Honourable Parliament, Sect.
(each Member whereof deserves an everlasting monument) had upon that blessed 1. of *May* voted the Government by Kings, Lords, and Commons) a constitution to be admired and envied, but not imitated) and were preparing Commissioners to attend his Majesty, to desire him to come to his Parliament and People with all speed possible.

His Excellency takes care for Pallaces His care
to entertain him, his own incomparable to make
Lady condescending to the drugery of a ^{all things}
common maid for the service of her Sove- ^{ready a-}
raign and then gives order for so many ^{gainst his} Majesties
Regiments of Horse to attend his Majesty, coming.
E 3 taking

taking great care, and giving many discreet orders for his Majesties security, providing with valour against open foes, and prudence against base friends, knowing his Majesty had good reason to pray with the Italian
God deliver me from my friends.

Ἐχθρὸς ὁμοῖ καὶ ὁμοῦ αἰδοῦ πύλησιν ἔσ
χ' ἔπειθ' ἄλλοι μὴν κἀθ' ἑνὶ φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ ὃ βάζε.

Hom. Il. 313.

Who have taken *Theogenis* wicked Counsel to his *Cyrus*.

Εὐ κάπ' ἄλλ' ἔχθρ' ὅταν ὃ ὑποχέρος ἔλθῃ
κ' ἴσῃζαι νὺν πέρ' ἔσιν μηδ' ἐμείαν θεμελί'.

Vid. dom. vit. Agric. Tacit. Annal. l. 1.

scil.

His Excellency according to his Majesties order, waites upon his Majesty at *Dover* (being unwilling to Land before he came) with so much humility, as if he had not knowne any worth and merit in himselfe; and was received by his majesty as if he had knowne nothing in him but worth and desert: how Honorably doe the best of subjects and the best of Kings greet each other? how modestly doth the Subject kneel? how humbly doth the Sovereign kiss and embrace: its one property of love to condescend with a πόθος π' ἔσ
ἢ φίλων φιλοῖσιν αἰδέσθαι κακά. *Enrip. Hal.*

So

So Parents out of love to their Children
lisp, and play, and fit their speech and dal-
liances to the age and infirmities of their
children.

In that renowned progress of his Majesty
to *London*, his Excellency had the honour ^{Scit.} He meets
to ride next before his Majesty, with the Il-^{his Ma-}lus-
trious Duke of *Buckingham* all the way jesty.
to *London*, and with the Honourable
Mayor through *London*: where the whole
Nation saw him more Honourable in that
he restored a soveraigne, then if he had
been one more glorious in his Loyall
Subjection then in an usurped majesty: his
bare head was more honourable then others
Crowns.

When some careful of the Subjects li-^{His ten-}ber-
ty would have bounded his Majesties ^{derness of} prerogative within the compass of the ^{his Ma-}Lawes (it being a power not to be intrusted ^{jesties} to frail flesh and blood to be above Law) ^{preroga-}and what was more have capitulated with ^{tive.} him for his own right, and brought him
to his Throne upon termes: his Excellency
withstood the motion, scorning to fetch
home a fettered Majesty, and to restore a
captive Soveraignty: if he brought in a

King, he would also bring in prerogative; and a *plenam potestatem*, 2. Ed. 4. 17. 21. H. 7. 2. H. 7. 7. as it was in *principio rerum*, where *Gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat*, *Iust. l. 1.* See R. B. Ios. in *Mishpat Aammelech*: and indeed prerogative cannot be intrusted to a mortal more capable of it than our Sovereign, who thinks it his highest power not to be able to do an injury; and his highest prerogative to take nothing from his Subjects but a liberty to offend, *Principi summum rerum arbitrium di dederunt, subditis obsequij gloria relicta est*, and may it suffice us when we admit his Majesty to a Sovereignty over us, that we know, *Regem in ipsum imperium est Iovis*, God is Sovereign over him.

Sect.
His care
for justice.

It was thought his Excellency would intercede with his Majesty for a general pardon to all parties and persons, but his Excellencie perceiving his Majesties extraordinary inclination to mercies, thought fit rather to encourage him to do Justice.

1. That innocent blood may not be upon our heads or upon our posterities, such blood as may overthrow a world: Its a fearful thing to let a Nation fall into the hand

hand of the living, by a neglect to satisfie that justice which divine mercy will not defraud, and therefore humane mercy dares not.

Secondly that posterity may look upon their late villanies with horror when they see them punished with severity.

ἡδὲ δὲ ἴσμεν τι τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνεται, ἵνα ἄλλοι
ὀρῶντες πάροχα αὖ πάροι φοβέσθωσι βελτίους
γίνωσχα, Plato apud A. Gel. l. 6. c. 14. Fa-
mosos publica furca figendos pluribus placuit
ut conspectu deturraentur alii ab iisdem faci-
noribus F. de. panis L. 28. P. fumosos Pet. E-
rod. decret. l. 2. Til. 14. Zeppa. de leg. l. 1.
c. 11. Plin. l. 29. c. 4.

3. That compleat justice be done to all sufferers of the Clergy and Layty, righte-ousness establisheth a Nation, and the guilty must be as contented for the good of the Nation to suffer Justice, as the innocent may be to enjoy right.

But his Majesty and his Excellency hath taught the Nation to sing of mercy and judgement Ps. 101. 1. by their πρὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συγγνώσκειν ὁπίστας, Arist. Rhet.
Index ut medicus syropos habet & aloen.
R. mains. transl. p. 63.

When

When his Majesty had leisure for any thoughts of settling his Officers of state he began in his own family, (for as a Bishop so a King must rule well in his own family) for how saith St. Paul, *can he rule the Church that cannot rule his house*, and how saith Aristotle, *Can he govern Kingdomes that governs not his own Court*: Indeed Kingship (saith Selden, in his titles of honour, *Weems exercitations* 3. Arist. Polit. 7. Rev. Bp. Will. in his *jura Majestatis*) was first exercised in the narrow compass of an household, and those increasing to Cities, Kings a while contentedly possessed those Cities, and Cities swelling into Nations, we had our *Kings* of Nations. Whence his Excellency had the honour himself of being *Master of the Horse*, and to commend the incomparable Sir. *Will. Morris* (eminent in his Counrrey for piety, prudence, publike-mindedness, and valour for rejected truths, eminent in his worthy book called *Cana quasi xoiln* for depth of judgement, solid and accure reason, sharp, quick, yet clear apprehension, for comprehensive reading, for a copious fancy, for a choice, grave, brief, perspicuous, pleasant, vigorous, and moderate-

moderately vehement expression, with a gracious frame of spirit running through each part, and the whole of it) for the first Secretary of state.

His Majesty well weighing *That in the multitude of Counsellors there is safety*, called his Excellency with his own high-borne Brothers *in suffering as well as nature*, the Honourable Marquesses of *Hartford*, of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor *Hide*, &c. to the Council Table, where there is no person that need go beyond him who first hath been present at all the subtile debates wherby the *κοσμοκράτορες τῆς σκοτεινότητος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*. *The Rulers of the darkness of this age* promoted their *mysteries of iniquity*.

Sect.

2. Who hath managed the troublesome affairs of *Scotland* so successfully for so many years.

3. Who had manifested so much prudence in his late expedition, that the King solemnly desired his sage advice for the settlement of his Kingdome.

But his Excellency conscious enough of the worth and ability of the most honourable Council is not so intent upon the affairs of state, as upon those of the field his own pecu-

Sect.

peculiar charge, where his chief care is to model the Army to a frame subservient to his Majesties and the whole Nations interest; and well knowing that the whole Army is at the beck of superiour Officers as much as the lower Obeds & at the command of the first mover, he disposed of most commands to persons of honour, worth, and sound interest: His Majesty himself with his two Royal Brothers, honouring their respective Regiments with their command.

Sect. And now it may be expected that from this confluence of the highest worth, the most eminent virtues, the most renowned performances, the result must be the highest honour ἀρετὴ καὶ παντελὴς ἀξία τιμὴ. *Arist. de mor. l. 4. c. 7. Charron wisd. c. 7. Hall government l. 1. c. 5.* and therefore his Majesty was pleased to call his Excellency to the House of Peers as Duke of *Aumarle**, Earle of *Torrington*, Lord *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp*, &c. Knight of the most Honourable order of the Garter, &c. honours that others indeed have enjoyed, but his Excellency made it his chief business to *deserve*: and I hope as he hath attained this

*See Hey-
lin Surv.
France
Seele
blanc
French.
Nob.

this honour with *great actions*, he will maintain it with *greater* until he is gathered to his Fathers full of honor and of daies, until having seen 1. That Sacred Majesty which he was an instrument to restore, established above malice, envy, ambition, rebellion, faction, and treason, by a sage Council, well constituted Parliaments, a well disciplined Army, and Navy, well chosen Officers and Ministers of State.

Secondly the subject secured against all encroachments (by a Prince whole prerogative it is that *he cannot do wrong*) in their persons, estates, lives or liberties, through wholesome, just, and good lawes, the Church established 1. Against all Heresy in the faith once delivered to the Saints against all schisme by the Primitive order, discipline and government.

3. Against all prophaness, 1. By a worship in spirit and in truth, 2. decent, 3. in order, 4. to edification, 2. by the power of godliness) his daies be swallowed up of eternity, and his honour be exchanged for
An eternal weight of Glory.

See 39.

Art. Ro-

gers. Dr.

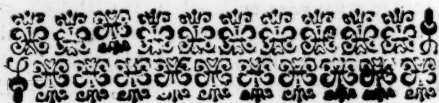
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Dr. Ellis.

Bp. Andr.

ibid.

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